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GREEK PAPYRI FROM GUROB.

GREEK PAPYRI FROM GUROB.

EDITED BY

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WITH TWO PLATES.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface,	vii
I. Ritual of the Mysteries,	1
II. The Court of Ten,	11
III. Taxes,	18
IV. Transport of Corn,	19
V. Petition to the Comarch,	19
VI. Official Letter,	20
VII. Transfer of Debt,	21
VIII. Robbery of a Vineyard,	23
IX. Assault on Serambus,	24
X. Temple Property,	25
XI. Official Letter,	27
XII. Date of Philopator,	27
XIII. Order to collect Debts,	29
XIV. Receipt,	30
XV. Receipt,	30
XVI. Receipt,	31
XVII. List of Persons,	31
XVIII. Memoranda of an Inspector,	32
XIX. Payment of Soldiers,	33
XX. Official Letter,	34
XXI. Official Letter,	35
XXII. List of Sheep and Goats,	36
XXIII. Rent of Ergasteria,	39
XXIV. Taxing Account,	41
XXV. Corn Account,	43
XXVI. Land Reports,	43
XXVII. Assessment of Persons,	46
XXVIII. Accounts,	51
XXIX. Accounts,	52
Indices—	
I. Geographical,	55
II. Personal Names,	55
III. General Index of Greek Words,	57

P60631

DUKE UNIVERSITY

PREFACE.

The papyri contained in this Memoir were extracted by me from some mummy cartonnage given to me by Professor Grenfell, who had obtained it some years ago in Egypt. Unfortunately most of the papyri in this cartonnage proved to be written in demotic, and none was in very good condition. It was immediately evident that they came from the same source as the Petrie papyri, for several of them deal with the same events, and in one case the new fragments join directly on to those of the Petrie collection. This does not necessarily imply that they come from the same mummy, for among the unpublished Tebtunis papyri there are many instances of pieces of the same document being found in two, or even three, different mummy cases; but the cartonnage must have been manufactured at the same time and in the same factory.

My thanks are due to the Royal Irish Academy for permitting me to produce these papyri in the same form as the three volumes of the Petrie papyri, to which they form the natural sequel; to Dr. Grenfell, not only for the cartonnage from which they are derived, but also for comparing most of my copies with the originals; and to Dr. Hunt, who read the proofs, and made many valuable suggestions.

The two most important papyri, No. I., a fragment of a Ritual of the Mysteries, and No. II., which contains the larger part of a second copy of the report of a lawsuit, and removes many of the difficulties of interpretation raised by the very difficult and imperfect first copy, published in the Petrie papyri, have been reproduced in two excellent plates, which are the work of the Oxford University Press.

J. GILBART SMYLY.

P60631

I.

RITUAL OF THE MYSTERIES.

PLATE I. Third cent. B.C.

ON this scrap of papyrus is preserved part of a column from a roll which originally contained a Ritual of the Mysteries. The column of writing is torn down the middle, so that nothing is left but the ends of thirty lines, and a few letters of the beginnings of the lines of the next column. Though no continuous sense can be made out, it is clear that we have parts of two prayers, the description of a sacrifice of a ram and a goat, a number of mystic symbols, and a list of the contents of the basket. It is not easy to determine to what form of the Mysteries this ritual belongs; for, even in this short space, there are references to things supposed to be peculiar to most of the different cults. There are some expressions which seem to be distinctly Eleusinian: the first prayer contains the words "Save me, Brimo," and one of the dramatic representations at Eleusis is said to have been the Sacred Marriage of Zeus and Demeter, which was terminated by the proclamation, "Our Lady Brimo has given birth to Brimos, the holy child." Demeter, characteristic of Eleusis, is addressed in the same breath as, if not identified with, Rhea, the great goddess of the Cretan and Phrygian mysteries: an identification which, according to some accounts, was also made in the Orphic and Samothracian mysteries. The armed Curetes, the attendants of Rhea, or of Dionysus Zagreus, are also mentioned. This prayer is followed by a description of the sacrifice of a ram and a he-goat; part of the latter was to be eaten, and it is specially stated that the profane should not witness the ceremony. It is known from other sources that the he-goat was specially connected with Dionysus, and a ram's head seems to have been one of the attributes of Sabazius. Clement of Alexandria, however, refers to the ram in connexion with the marriage of Demeter at Eleusis; but Psellus, describing the same rite, says that it was a he-goat. The papyrus mentions both. This is followed by another prayer in which Eubouleus, an Eleusinian or Orphic personage, is invoked. The prayer names Demeter and Pallas also, and probably refers to Erikepaios, who was distinctively Orphic. Then comes the statement,

"Dionysus is one," a characteristically Orphic expression, immediately followed by a reference to *σύμβολα*, the secret phrases or pass-words of the mysteries. One of these is *θεὸς διὰ κόλπου*, which is said by Clement to have been a *σύμβολον* of those initiated into the mysteries of Sabazius: it was a snake which was drawn across the body of the candidate under his clothing. There are one or two obscure lines, after which the fragment ends with a list of the things which should be placed in the basket: these were a top, a humming-top, knuckle-bones, a rattle, and a mirror. The list, as far as it goes, is identical with that given, some four and a half centuries later, by Clement of Alexandria. On the whole, there are more correspondences with what we know of the Orphic system than with any of the other rites; but this may be because we know more about that system. The papyrus may be taken as an indication, either that the various forms of the mysteries had more in common than has generally been supposed, or that the process of syncretism, or amalgamation, had already advanced very far in the early part of the third century B.C.

The Ritual was written in prose, but there seem to be many fragments of verse embedded in it: thus *Δήμητέρ τε Ῥέα* (l. 6) and *Κουρῆτές τε ἔνοπλοι* (l. 7, cf. *Orph. Hymn* Εὐχὴ: *Κουρῆτάς τ' ἐνόπλους Κορύβαντάς τ' ἠδὲ Καβείρους*) may be the beginnings, and *κριός τε τράγος τε* (l. 10), *ἀπερίσια δῶρα* (l. 11), *Δήμητρος καὶ Παλλάδος ἡμῖν* (l. 21), and *εἷς Διόνυσος* (l. 23) may be the ends of hexameters.

On palæographical grounds the papyrus must be assigned to an earlier date than the other papyri in this volume, and probably belongs to the first half of the third century B.C.

]. ας ταε . . . να ευρηι
]ωμα . . . υν λεγε
]. διοτοκιν τελετην
]ετεμον ποινας πατ
]σωισομ με Βριμω με
]Δημητερ τε Ρεα
]Κουρητες τε ενοπλοι
]ωμεν
ι]να ποιωμεν ιερα καλα
]. νηι κριος τε τραγος τε

]απερισια δωρα
]. ου και επι ποταμου νομωι
]ανων του τραγου
]τα δε λοι[[κρα]] κρεα εσθιετω
]ος μη εφορατω
]λλου αναθεις εις το ανηιρε
]αλων ευχη
]νον και Ευβουλεα καλω
]. ας Ευιηας κικλησκω
]. [.]ιτοφιλους συ απανανας
Δ]ημητρος και Παλλαδος ημιν
]λευ Πικεπαιγε σωισομ με
]ιτα εις Διονυσος συμβολα
]ηρα θεος δια κολπου
].ρ[.]ν επιον ονος βουκολος
]γιας συνθεμα ανω κατω τοις
]ς διο σοι εδοθη ανηλωσαι
ε]ις τον καλαθον εμβαλιν
κ]ωνος ρομβος αστραγαλοι
]η εσοπτρος

3. The first three lines are so much obliterated that it is impossible to guess their meaning. If διοτοκιν = διοτοκεῖν is rightly read, we may compare for the form such words as διδυμοτοκεῖν and σκωληκοτοκεῖν, and for the spelling εμβαλιν in l. 28. It may, perhaps, refer to Rhea giving birth to Zeus.

4. ἔτεμον is possibly part of one of the σύμβολα, the passwords or mystic formulæ, the knowledge of which entitled the initiate to the favour of the gods. They are generally cast in the first person, which is an indication that the initiate had personally gone through a symbolic ceremony in imitation of some event in the story of the god. In the Eleusinian mysteries the Hierophant underwent a mock mutilation in a dramatic representation of the marriage of Zeus and Demeter. Hippolytus, *Philosoph.* v. 1, tells us that the self-mutilation of the Hierophant was not

real, but that temporary impotence was produced by means of hemlock, and that the result of this symbolic marriage was proclaimed in the words: "The Lady Brimo has given birth to the holy child Brimos":—*αὐτὸς ὁ ἱεροφάντης, οὐκ ἀποκεκομμένος μὲν, ὡς ὁ Ἄττις, εὐνουχισμένος δὲ διὰ κωνείου καὶ πᾶσαν παρῃτημένος τὴν σαρκικὴν γένεσιν, νυκτὸς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρὶ τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων· "ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμὼ Βριμόν," τουτέστιν ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν.* Clement of Alexandria, *Protrep.* II. 14, describes this dramatic marriage as part of the mysteries of Demeter, and mentions Brimo in connexion with it:—*Δηοῦς δὲ μυστήρια καὶ (leg. αἱ,* Lobeck) *Διὸς πρὸς μητέρα Δήμητρα ἀφροδίσιοι συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μῆνις (οὐκ οἶδ' ὅ τι φῶ λοιπόν μητρὸς ἢ γυναικός) τῆς Δηοῦς, ἧς δὴ χάριν Βριμὼ προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται . . . τεθρυλήκασιν δὲ ὡς ἄρα ἀποσπάσας ὁ Ζεὺς τοῦ κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους φέρων ἐν μέσοις ἔρριψε τοῖς κόλποις τῆς Δηοῦς, τιμωρίαν ψευδῆ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτινύων, ὡς ἑαυτὸν δῆθεν ἐκτεμών.*

Possibly *πατ* may be the beginning of *πατρος*, and the words may refer to the mutilation of Uranos by Kronos: cf. Clement, *l. c. μηδέων ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποκεκομμένων Οὐρανοῦ*; or to that of Kronos by Zeus: cf. Proclus, *in Crat.*, p. 59: *μόνος δ' ὁ Κρόνος καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται τὸν Οὐρανὸν τὴν βασιλείαν τελέως καὶ τῷ Διὶ παραχωρεῖ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τέμνων καὶ τεμνόμενος, ὥς φησιν ὁ μῦθος.*

5. Compare line 22. For Brimo see the quotations in the note on l. 3, and Tzetzes on Hesiod *Op.* 144. *Βριμὼ δὲ καὶ Ὀβριμὼ κυρίως ἡ Περσεφόνη, ἤγουν ἡ γῆ καὶ ὁ θάνατος καλεῖται.* Brimo is mentioned also in the Orphic Argonautica, 17 and 429. Dr. Hunt suggests *με/γαλη*.

6. This line is shorter than the preceding and following lines by about four letters. Hence it is not likely that *Ῥέα* was followed by *τε* in the next line, and we must suppose that Demeter and Rhea were identified, as they were in the Orphic tradition. Cf. Proclus *in Crat.*, p. 96, *ὅτι τὴν Δήμητραν Ὀρφεὺς μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν λέγων τῇ Ῥέᾳ εἶναι λέγει, ὅτι ἄνωθεν μὲν μετὰ Κρόνου οὖσα ἀνεκφοίτητος Ῥέα ἐστί, προβάλλουσα δὲ καὶ ἀπογεννῶσα τὸν Δία Δημήτηρ. λέγει γὰρ Ῥείην τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἐπεὶ Διὸς ἔπλετο μήτηρ γεγονέναι Δήμητραν.*

7. The *Κουρῆτες* were the guardians of the infant Zeus, Dionysus, or Zagreus, according to the particular form of the mysteries in which they appear.

13. Possibly *[τὰς ὄρχεις λαμβ]άνων τοῦ τράγου.* Clement in the passage quoted in the note on l. 4 says that they were the *δίδυμοι* of a Ram which

were used in the mock mutilation of Zeus, but Psellus, *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de Daemonibus* 3, calls it a τραγοσκελὲς μίμημα παθαινόμενον περὶ τοῖς διδύμοις, ὅτιπερ ὁ Ζεὺς, δίκας ἀποτινὺς τῆς βίας τῇ Δήμητρι, τράγου ὄρχεις ἀποτεμὼν, τῷ κόλπῳ ταύτης κατέθετο ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ.

14. The original writing has been corrected to λοιπὰ. This direction to eat the remainder of the flesh of sacrificed animals is usual, cf. Ditt. *Syll.* 653, 96 ἀφελόντες ἀφ' ἑκάστου τὰ νόμιμα τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ λοιπὰ κρέα καταχρησάσθωσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δεῖπνον. For the exclusion of certain portions of the victims sacrificed in the mysteries see Clement, *Strom.* II. xx. 106 ἐντεῦθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὸν εὑρόντα τὰς τελετὰς οὐ μόνον τινῶν ζῴων ἀπαγορεύειν ἅπτεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἃ καὶ τῶν καταθυομένων ὑπεξείλετο τῆς χρήσεως μέρη δι' αἰτίας ἃς ἴσασιν οἱ μύσται.

15. Probably ὁ δὲ βέβηλ]ος μὴ ἐφοράτω.

17.]αλων is possibly the termination of a genitive constructed with εὐχὴ, but, since the following prayer is in the first person singular, it is more likely that it is the last word of the preceding sentence, and that εὐχή stands alone as a heading.

18. Eubouleus is well known in connexion with the Eleusinian mysteries, where he is associated with the God and the Goddess, but does not seem to have been an important personage (see Foucart, Les Mystères d'Eleusis, p. 104, and Rohde, *Psyche* I, 207, 210). He is mentioned in the gold tablets of Thurii, Εὐκλῆς Εὐβουλεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι, and often in the Orphic Hymns, where he is sometimes identified with Dionysus, son of Phersephone (xxix, 8, and xxx, 6), or is the father of Dionysus (xliii, 1, Θεσμοφόρον καλέω ναθηκοφόρον Διόνυσον σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυώνυμον, Εὐβουλῆος), or the father of Artemis (lxxii, 3). According to Macrobius, *Sat.* I. 18, 22, Eubouleus was one of the names given by Orpheus to the sun, ὃν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον Εὐβουλῆά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἀρίδηλον.

The word ending]νον was, perhaps, Πρωτογόνον, cf. Orphic Hymn VI. 1. Πρωτογόνον καλέω διφυῆ, μέγαν, αἰθερόπλαγκτον. In the fourth line of the same hymn he is identified with Erikepaios:—σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, Ἡρικεπαῖον. According to Orphic tradition he was the first emanation from the Cosmic Egg; Rhea was his daughter, *Hymn* XIV. 1. Πότνα Ῥέα θύγατερ πολυμόρφου Πρωτογόνοιο.

19. ευιηας is probably connected with εὔιος and the mystic exclamations εὔιον εὔιον εὐοῖ, Aristoph., *Thesm.* 994, and εὐοῖ σαβοῖ, for which see Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* 1041.

20. ἀπανάνας is probably the aorist participle of ἀπαναίνω. This verb generally means "to parch, or dry up completely," but here it seems to be used in the sense of "having taken away my thirst." Parching thirst was one of the terrors of the future life from which the initiated into the mysteries were protected. In the gold tablet of Petelia (Comparetti, *Laminette Orfiche*, p. 33) the soul is represented as saying

> δίψηι δ' εἰμὶ αὖη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα
> ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.
> καὐ[τοί σο]ι δώσουσι πιεῖν θείης ἀπ[ο κρήν]ης.

and in the tablets of Eleutherna as restored by Comparetti (p. 40)

> δίψῃ αὖος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ πιεῖν μοι
> κρήνης αἰερόου, ἐπὶ δεξιὰ, τῇ κυπάρισσος.

In Aeschylus, *Eum.* 23, the song of the Furies is described as αὐονὴ βροτῶν, and in the introduction to the Frogs of Aristophanes, which is full of allusions to the mysteries, Xanthias is told to run round the lake, and wait παρὰ τὸν αὐαίνου λίθον.

22. There are several ways in which the letters of this line can be divided into vocatives, but none is quite satisfactory. The best, perhaps, is]λευ Πικεπαιγε, where λευ may be the end of βασιλεῦ or Εὐβουλεῦ. Πικεπαιγε may, as Mr. E. H. Alton suggests, be a formation parallel to Ἡρικεπαῖε; the presence of the intervocalic γ would not cause any difficulty: or, it may be merely an attempt to reproduce the foreign and unintelligible name, which others wrote down as Ἡρικεπαῖος. This, like Protogonos, was one of the names of Phanes in the Orphic mysteries, one of the names of that Light which burst the aether and gave light to the earth and all creation: cf. Jo. Malala IV, p. 74 (and Suidas s.v. Ὀρφεύς):— οὗ ὄνομα ὁ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεὺς ἀκούσας ἐκ τῆς μαντείας ἐξεῖπε Μῆτιν, Φάνητα, Ἡρικεπαῖον, ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται τῇ κοινῇ γλώσσῃ βουλή, φῶς, ζῳοδοτήρ.

23. Possibly λικν]ῖτα. Cf. Orph. Hymn xlvi. Λικνίτην Διόνυσον ἐπ' εὐχαῖς ταῖσδε κικλήσκω, and lii. 3 μηροτρεφές, λικνῖτα, πυρίπνοε καὶ τελετάρχα.

εἷς Διόνυσος was a peculiarly Orphic expression. The followers of Orpheus combined a tendency to monotheism with an apparent multiplicity of gods. Justin. *Cohort. ad Gent.* 15, says that Orpheus, who was the first teacher of polytheism (ὁ τῆς πολυθεότητος ὑμῶν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, πρῶτος διδάσκαλος γεγονώς), afterwards preached about a one and only God (περὶ

ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ κηρύττει), and quotes the verse (cf. Macrob. *Sat.* I. 18, and Lobeck, p. 460):—

Εἷς Ζεύς, εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος
Εἷς θεὸς ἐν πάντεσσι.

σύμβολα is probably a kind of heading, like εὐχή in l. 17, indicating that the following expressions were mystic passwords, or test phrases. Firmicus Maternus, *De Errore* 18, tells us that *symbola* were the means of mutual recognition employed by the initiates, and implies that they consisted of two parts, a *signum* and a *responsum*:—Libet nunc explanare quibus se signis vel quibus symbolis in ipsis superstitionibus miseranda hominum turba cognoscat. Habent enim propria signa, propria responsa. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 377, thinks that he is wrong:—Firmicus Maternus s'est trompé, je crois, sur la valeur de ces formules, et sur leur emploi. Ce n'était pas un mot de passe servant aux initiés à se reconnaître entre eux, mais une réponse à la question posée par les ministres du temple; chacun des recipiendaires déclarait qu'il avait accompli les actes fixés par le rituel;" and in a note on p. 376 says that the words σύμβολον and σύνθημα "indiquent que les mots employés, outre leur sens ordinaire, avaient un sens conventionnel qui échappait aux profanes." It is true that the word σύμβολον was so used, especially of the sayings of Pythagoras, in which, as Stobaeus says, τὸ φράζεσθαι δοκοῦν κρυπτόμενόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ κρύπτεσθαι νοούμενον: Plutarch, 2, 727B, discusses the hidden meanings of several Pythagorean symbola. This, however, is not the natural meaning of such words as σύμβολον and σύνθημα, but was a secondary meaning probably derived from the technical use of the words in the mysteries. Σύμβολα were properly tallies, such as dice, coins, or knuckle-bones cut in two; and were used as tests, and means of identification. A person claiming hospitality, or the return of a deposit, produced one half of the divided token as his credentials; if it fitted to the other half, his claim was established. (See C. I. G. 87; Herod. 6, 86; Schol. Eur. Med. 613.) The essential characteristic of a σύμβολον was that it was a part of a divided whole, and fitted accurately to the other divided portion. So in Plato's Symposium 191D, Aristophanes, having described how the original men were split in two, says ἕκαστος οὖν ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου σύμβολον, ἅτε τετμημένος ὥσπερ αἱ ψῆτται, ἐξ ἑνὸς δύο· ζητεῖ δὴ ἀεὶ τὸ αὑτοῦ ἕκαστος σύμβολον. So, I believe, the σύμβολα of the mysteries were Divided Words, resembling a sign and a countersign, consisting, as Firmicus says,

of a *signum* and a *responsum*; one clause being spoken by one initiate, the other by the second. Every one present at a celebration of the mysteries would be tested in this way; an official would say, for instance, to a stranger, ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, and the latter, if an initiate, would reply, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον; but, if he were not initiated, he would not understand, and would probably ask absurd questions, such as, What do you mean? or, Why did you do that? It was in this way that the two Acarnanians were detected in the story told in Livy xxxi. 14:—Acarnanes duo iuvenes per initiorum dies, non initiati, templum Cereris imprudentes religionis, cum cetera turba ingressi sunt. Facile eos sermo prodidit, absurde quaedam percunctantes. It is most improbable that the *initia* implied in the words *initiorum dies* were different from those implied in the words *non initiati*, as Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, p. 282, supposes, referring the former to the ceremonies at Eleusis, the latter to the *Petits Mystères* at Athens; and it is quite incredible that the detection of outsiders should be left to the chance of their asking foolish questions. It was because the characteristic phrases of the mysteries were divided words, which fitted together, like the divided dice or coins, that they were called σύμβολα. The other secondary meanings were derived from this use. Since these phrases generally had a hidden, mystical meaning, the application of the word was extended to all expressions which, like the symbols of Pythagoras, veiled an esoteric meaning with ordinary words. Subsequently the word was used to indicate the formulae characteristic of some particular sect of philosophy or religion. It was in this way that the Christian Creed was called a symbol. These *symbola* of the Mysteries were thus means of mutual recognition in this life, and a knowledge of them established a claim to special privileges after death. They secured the initiate from the pains and penalties of the future life, as Plutarch suggests in his Consolation to his wife, 611D, καὶ μὴν ἃ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούεις, οἳ πείθουσι πολλοὺς λέγοντες ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ τῷ διαλυθέντι κακὸν οὐδὲ λυπηρὸν ἔστιν, οἶδ' ὅτι κωλύει σε πιστεύειν ὁ πάτριος λόγος καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμῶν, ἃ σύνισμεν ἀλλήλοις οἱ κοινωνοῦντες.

24. θεὸς διὰ κόλπου. This was a golden snake drawn across the breast of the initiate under his clothing, as a symbolical representation of the intercourse of Zeus, in the form of a snake, with Persephone. According to Clement, *Protr.* II. 16, it was a symbol of the mysteries of Sabazius:—Σαβαζίων γοῦν μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μυουμένοις ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός· δράκων δέ ἐστιν οὗτος, διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἔλεγχος

ἀκρασίας Διός· κυεῖ καὶ ἡ Φερέφαττα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον· ἀμέλει φησί τις ποιητὴς εἰδωλικός

ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων.

This line is quoted as a *symbolum* by Firmicus, *De Err.* 26, and by Arnobius, *Adv. Gentes*, v. 21. Auctorem aliquis desiderabit rei, tum illum citabimus Tarentinum, notumque senarium, quem antiquitas canit, dicens *Taurus draconem genuit et taurum draco.* Ipsa novissime sacra, et ritus initiationis ipsius, quibus Sebadiis nomen est, testimonio esse poterunt veritati in quibus aureus coluber in sinum dimittitur consecratis, et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus atque imis.

25. If the first word could be read ψυ]χρ[ό]ν there might be a reference to the draught of cold water given to the thirsty soul after death: see note on l. 20, and C. I. G. 6267 ψυχῇ διψώσῃ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ μεταδός, 6717 δοίη σοι Ὄσιρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, and compare 6256 and 6562. There are, however, only two small spots of ink left, of which the second may be the lower part of ρ, but the first is not very like part of χ. The word ἔπιον is certainly part of a *symbolum* resembling that of Eleusis:—ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην (Clem. *Protr.* II. 21, and Arnob. v. 26), or that quoted by Clement (*ib.* II. 15) in connexion with Deo, ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν.

It is not clear whether ὄνος is connected with ἔπιον, in which case the meaning might be, "I drank as an ὄνος, and became a βουκόλος," or whether ὄνος βουκόλος formed an independent *symbolum.* In any case ὄνος must have had a technical, mystical meaning in the mysteries, indicating, perhaps, an outsider as distinguished from a βουκόλος. On this hidden meaning depends the interpretation of the expression ὄνος ἄγων μυστήρια (Arist. *Ran.* 159, Suid. Hesych.). The title βουκόλος is often found in the Orphic Hymns and Inscriptions in connexion with the Orphic Bacchus. It seems to have indicated a member of a college presided over by an ἀρχιβουκόλος, whose duties were, according to Dieterich, "deum non modo rite venerandum curare, sed etiam δραματουργίας et saltationes Bacchicas agere." The subject has been fully discussed by Dieterich, *De Hymnis Orphicis* I., *De bubulcis Orphicis.*

26. σύνθεμα. See note on l. 23.

ἄνω κάτω is here described as a σύνθεμα: it is probably an abbreviated formula, used as a password, concealing some point of the teaching of the

mysteries, which may, perhaps, be guessed at from Hippolytus, who says, *Philo.* v. 1, that Ἐλευσίν is derived from *ἐλθεῖν, ὅτι ἤλθομεν οἱ πνευματικοὶ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδάμαντος ῥυέντες κάτω*—and *ἀνακτόρειον* from to *τὸ ἀνελθεῖν ἄνω*, and continues :—*τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶν ὃ λέγουσιν οἱ κατωργιασμένοι τῶν* Ἐλευσινίων *τὰ μυστήρια*: or from Proclus, who says, *Crat.*, p. 85, that Orpheus in some respects identified Demeter with *τῇ ὅλῃ ζῳογονίᾳ*, in others distinguished them, *ἄνω μὲν γὰρ οὖσα Ῥέα ἐστί, κάτω δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Διὸς Δημήτηρ*; and *Theol. Plat.* vi. 11, 371, *καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν θεολόγων φήμη, τῶν τὰς ἁγιωτάτας ἡμῖν ἐν* Ἐλευσῖνι *τελετὰς παραδεδωκότων, ἄνω μὲν αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς μητρὸς οἴκοις μένειν φησίν, ... κάτω δὲ μετὰ* Πλούτωνος *τῶν χθονίων ἐπάρχειν καὶ τοὺς τῆς γῆς μυχοὺς ἐπιτροπεύειν.*

28. The construction, probably, was *ἃ δεῖ εἰς τὸν κάλαθον ἐμβαλεῖν*—a list of things which must be put into the basket. These were the toys with which the Titans amused the infant Dionysus Zagreus before they tore him in pieces. They are enumerated with scorn in a similar list by Clement, *Protr.* ii. 17, *τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπα· ὃν εἰσέτι παῖδα ὄντα ἐνόπλῳ κινήσει περιχορευόντων Κουρήτων, δόλῳ δὲ ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν, ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς Τελετῆς ποιητὴς Ὀρφεύς φησιν ὁ Θρᾴκιος.*

> *κῶνος καὶ ῥόμβος καὶ παίγνια καμπεσίγυια*
> *μῆλά τε χρύσεα καλὰ παρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.*

καὶ τῆσδε ὑμῖν τῆς τελετῆς τὰ ἀχρεῖα σύμβολα οὐκ ἀχρεῖον εἰς κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ἀστράγαλος, σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ῥόμβος, ἔσοπτρον, πόκος.

30. The word *σφαῖρα* probably stood in the lacuna, and the word ending in *η* may have been *πλαταγή*. The *σφαῖρα* and *πλαταγή* were given to restless children to keep them quiet (Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* vii. 10), and Aristotle, *Pol.* viii. 6, referring to the *πλαταγή*, says that people give it to children in order that, being amused by it, they may not break the furniture.

II.

THE COURT OF TEN.

PLATES I AND II. C. 225 B.C.

In PP. III. 21 (*a*)–(*g*) there was published a series of legal documents containing the decisions of a Court of Ten. There were two copies of each document, the first written in a very small, very cursive, almost illegible hand, the second in larger and better writing. The most important of these documents was the last, of which, unfortunately, only the badly written copy was preserved, together with two small fragments of the second. Owing to the extreme difficulty of reading what was written, and the broken condition of the papyrus, there were many mistakes in the first publication, and much controversy as to the meaning of what was preserved. The text was re-edited by Mitteis *Chrestomathie* 21, with many improvements in the readings; and many of the difficulties have been discussed by the Graeca Halensis in *Dikaiomata*, p. 204 ff. Now, by a lucky chance, a large part of the second copy has been obtained from the soles of two feet. These fragments have been reproduced in autotype, together with the two small pieces belonging to the Petrie papyri.

The meaning of the beginning and end of the document is now quite clear, and, though the middle is still far from complete, it is of less importance, since it chiefly dealt with the details of the assault. The procedure seems to have been as follows:—Dositheus, a Jew of the Epigone, accused Heracleia, a Jewess, of assault with violence, and ὕβρις. She sent a petition to the king demanding the appointment of a court consisting of jurors, with the exception of such as either party should challenge. Aristomachus, the Strategus of the Arsinoite nome, sent a πρόσταγμα to Polydeuces, the εἰσαγωγεύς, quoting the petition of the defendant Heracleia. Polydeuces, in accordance with this πρόσταγμα, constituted the court, which, in this case, consisted of a President and seven jurors. The reduction to seven, instead of the usual nine, in the number of the jurors may have been due to the exercise of the right of challenge; in which case Heracleia must have challenged two, since Dositheus did not appear in court, and therefore could not have challenged any. When the court had been constituted, and the πρόσταγμα of the Strategus, which gave authority to the εἰσαγωγεύς to summon it had been read, the formal charge, or ἔγκλημα, brought by Dositheus against

Heracleia was recited. This ἔγκλημα gave full details of the assault, notice that an action would be brought, a statement of the amount of damages for ὕβρις, and of the τίμημα τῆς δίκης. This was followed by a notification that the trial would take place on a particular date in the Arsinoite nome in the court of which Polydeuces was εἰσαγωγεύς, and a statement that the ἔγκλημα had been personally served upon Heracleia in the presence of witnesses. The plaintiff Dositheus did not appear, and did not present a written statement to the court; but the defendant Heracleia was present with her κύριος, and presented both a written statement and δικαιώματα, and was willing to defend herself. The court gave judgment in accordance with a διάγραμμα, which had been put in by Heracleia among her δικαιώματα. This διάγραμμα decreed that the court should decide (1) all matters dealt with in the διαγράμματα of the king in accordance with those διαγράμματα; (2) all matters not dealt with in the διαγράμματα, but in the πολιτικοὶ νόμοι, in accordance with those νόμοι; and (3) all other matters in accordance with the strictest justice. If, after both parties had been summoned to appear in court, either of them failed to attend, or was unwilling to present a written statement, the defaulting party must be presumed guilty of injustice. In accordance with this decree the court decided in favour of Heracleia, and dismissed the case.

The dates of the document are very difficult to explain, and there are certainly some errors in them. The most conspicuous of these is the discrepancy between the two copies in l. 11. The second copy has, quite clearly written, Lκα Δυστρο[υ ις̄] Παχων ιθ̄; the first has Παυνι for Παχων, and the number of the year is much more like κβ than κα. This date is attached to the πρόσταγμα sent by Aristomachus to Polydeuces, ordering him to constitute the court, and it is impossible to suppose that more than a year elapsed between his order and the date of the trial in Dystros of the 22nd year. It follows that either κβ is the right reading in l. 11, and the second copy is wrong, or that the year changed between Dystros 16 and 22. Such a change would account both for the vacillation in the number of the year, and for the vague expressions τοῦ ὄντος and τῆς οὔσης instead of the names of the priest of Alexander and the canephorus of Arsinoe. This is almost exactly the date arrived at by Edgar (*Annales du Service des Antiquités de L'Egypte*, T. xviii, 1917) for the change of the year in the time of Philadelphus; but, if the years are Regnal years, counted from the anniversary of the king's accession, it is very unlikely that the change would take place on almost the same day in two successive reigns.

On the other hand, the Revenue year began, I am convinced, in Mecheir, not in Pachon or Pauni (see *Hermathena*, vol. xiv, No. xxxii, 1906). The written charge against Heracleia is certainly dated in the 21st year. Of this there can be no doubt, because the names of the priest and the kanephorus are given, and the docket attached to this ἔγκλημα declares that the trial would take place in Peritius of the 21st year. It did not take place in that month; but it is more natural to suppose that it was postponed for one month than for thirteen. These difficulties I cannot explain, and must leave them in the hope that a papyrus may some day be discovered which will tell us how the early Ptolemies counted their years.

The text as here printed is a combination of the two copies; words enclosed in square brackets are lost in the second copy, but preserved in the first, except where printed in smaller type. The words so printed are conjectural restorations. The end of the second copy has been very much altered, and differs considerably from the first, both in the order of the sentences and in smaller details. These differences confirm the suggestion made in PP. III, p. 43, that the first copy was hastily written by a clerk of the court during the proceedings, and that the second was a fair copy, made subsequently at his leisure. In this case the second copy is written in a larger and more careful hand than the first; but many peculiarities in the formation of the letters prove that both copies were written by the same person.

Βασιλεύοντ[ος Πτο]λεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Α[ρσ]ινόης θ[εῶν Ἀδελφῶν
ἔτους κβ ἐ[φ᾽ ἱερέως] τοῦ ὄντος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι Ἀλεξάνδρου [καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν
καὶ θεῶν Εὐεφ[γετῶ]ν κανηφόρου Ἀρσιν[ό]ης Φιλαδέλφου τῆς οὔσης [ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι
μηνὸς Δύστ[ρου κβ] ἐγ Κροκοδίλων πόλει τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομοῦ [ἐπὶ προέδρου
Ζηνοθέμιδ[ος δικασ]ταὶ Διομήδης Πολυκλῆς Αν[δρ]ῶν Θεοφάνη[ς Μαιάνδριος 5
Σώνικο[ς Διοτρέφης] καθίσαντος ἡμᾶς Πολυδεύκου τοῦ εἰσαγω[γέως κατὰ τὸ
παρὰ Ἀριστο[μάχου το]ῦ πρὸς τῆι στρατ[ηγ]ίαι τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νο[μοῦ τεταγμένου
γραφὲν αὐτῶ[ι προστ]άγμα οὗ ἐστιν ἀν[τ]ίγραφον τόδε Πολυ[δεύκει χαίρειν
ἠξίωκεν τὸ[ν βασιλ]έα διὰ τῆς ἐντε[ύξ]εως ἡ Ἡράκλεια κα[θίσαι . . . . . ομο-
σαντας πάντ[ας δικ]αστὰς πλὴν ὧν [ἂν ἐ]κάτερος ἐξαναστή[σηι κατὰ τὸ διάγραμ- 10
μα Lκα Δύστρο[υ ις] Παχὼν ιθ τα[δε ἐγ]νωμεν πε[ρὶ τῆς δίκης ἧς ἐγράψατο
Δωσίθεος Ἡράκ[λειαι κ]ατὰ τὸ ἔγκλημ[α τόδε Δωσίθεος . . . . ιου Ἰουδαῖος

τῆς ἐπ[ιγονῆς Ἡράκλειαι Διοσδότου Ἰουδαίαι καθὰ *16 letters*
σαυτὴν [κατηγορήσας ὅτι τοῦ καὶ μηνὸς Περιτίου κβ ἐσιόντος ἐμοῦ
τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐ[ν τῆι Ἀπίωνος *17 letters* ἀπὸ τῆς λεγομένης
[Πασ]ύτιος οἰκία[ς ἡ ἐστιν ἐγ Κροκοδίλων πόλει τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νόμου
[ἀπέναντι τῆς λεγομένης Πασύτιος οἰκίας τοῦ μ *9 letters* παραγενομένη εἰς τὸν
[τόπον τοῦτον μετὰ] Κα[λλίππου τοῦ . . . . . αν . . . . . ου ἐλοιδόρησας
[φαμένη μὲ εἰρηκέν]αι πρός τ[ινας διότι *20 letters* τὴν
[γυναῖκα ἐμοῦ δὲ σὲ ἀντι]λοιδορούντο[ς οὕτως ἐπτύσας ὥστε . . . . . .
[καὶ λαβομένη μου τ]ῆς ἀναβολῆς τ[οῦ ἱματίου πετ *17 letters* ς με
[καὶ . . . . .]πες ἕως ὅτου α[*25 letters* πολλάκις
[Καλλίππου τοῦ πρ]ογεγραμμένου β[*17 letters* τῶν δὲ παρόντων
[ἐπιτιμώντων σοί τ]ε καὶ Καλλίππωι [*30 letters*
[. . . . . διετε]λέσω σὺ ὑβριζούσα [.] . . . [*30 letters*
[. . . . .]α ἐπεμαρτυράμη[ν] διὸ δ[ικάζο]μαί [σοι κατὰ
[. . . . . τὴν ὕ]βριν ⊢ Σ τίμημα τῆς δίκ[ης ⊢ . .] ὕβρίσ[μενος δὲ καὶ
[τὸ αν . . . . . καὶ δι]ὰ τοῦ ἐγκλήματο[ς τοῦ[δε ἐνεπισκήπτομαι Lκα ἐφ᾽
[ἱερέως Γαλέστου το]ῦ Φιλιστίωνος Ἀλ[εξ]άν[δρου καὶ θεῶν Ἀδελφῶν καὶ θεῶν
[Εὐεργετῶν κανηφό]ρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλα[δ]έλφου Β[ερ]ενίκης τῆ[ς Σωσιπόλιος
[μηνὸς . . . . . .]ς ἡ δὲ δίκη σοι γραφήσεται ἐν τῶι δικασ[τηρίωι τῶι ὄντι ἐν
τῶι [[δικα[στηριωι]]] Ἀρσινοίτηι νόμωι οὐ εἰσαγωγεὺς Πολυδε[ύκης Lκα μη-
[ν]ὸς Περιτ[ίου . .] καὶ τὸ ἔγκλημα ἔ[χ]εις κληθεῖσα ἐνώπια κ[λήτορες . . . .
[φ]ανης Νικ[ίου Θρ]αῖξ τῶν ἐπέργων Ζώπυρος Συμμάχου [Πέρσης
[τ]ῆς ἐπ[ιγονῆς] τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος ὄντος [καὶ Δωσιθέου
[μ]ὲν [[αὐτ[οῦ]] οὐ παρό]ντος καὶ οὔτε τὸ[ν] γραπτὸν λόγον θ[εμένου οὔτε
[. .]γομενου τ[. . .]ορην Ἡράκλειας [δ]ὲ παρούσης μετὰ [κυρίου Ἀρισ-
[τί]δου τοῦ Πρ[ω]τέου Ἀθηναίου τῆς ἐπιγονῆς καὶ [ἅμα τε
[γραπ]τὸν λόγον θ[ε]μένης καὶ τὰ δικ[α]ιώματα βουλομ[ένης τε ἀπο-
[λογε]ῖσθαι τὴν [δί]κην ἐπειδὴ κ[α]ὶ τὸ διάγραμμα ὁ κ[αὶ παρέδοτο
[ἐν] τοῖς δικαιώμ[ασιν] ἡ Ἡράκλεια συνσ[τ]ῆσαι καὶ δικάζει[ν . . . . . .
κως ὅσα μὲν ἐν [τοῖς β]ασιλέως Πτολεμ[αί]ου διαγράμμασι[ν εἰδη

[γ]εγραμμένα ἡ ἐ[μ]φ[αν]ίζηι τις ἡμῖν κατὰ τὰ διαγράμμ[ατα ὅσα τε
[μ]ὴ ἔστιν ἐν [τοῖς διαγ]ράμμασιν ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πολιτικ[οῖς νόμοις κα-
[τὰ] τοὺς νόμο[υς τὰ δ' ἄ]λλα γνώμηι τῆι δικαιοτάτη[ι 45
[. . συντάσσει ἐὰν δὲ] ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀντιδίκων [κληθέν-
[των ἐν τῶι δικαστ]ηρίωι ἑκάτερος οὖν αὐτῶν μὴ βούλη[ται γραπ-
[τὸν λόγον θέσθαι .] . . . . . ορην ἢ ἀποδέχ[ε]σθαι ἢ συθασθαι[. . . . . .
[. . . . . κρινέ]τωσαν ἀδικῆσαι . ἀπεδικάσαμεν τὴ[ν δίκην

Translation:—In the 22nd year of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, &c., on the 22nd of Dystros in Crocodilopolis in the Arsinoite nome, under the presidency of Zenothemis, the Dicasts being Diomedes, Polycles, Andron, Theophanes, Maeandrius, Sonicus, Diotrephes:

Polydeuces, the Eisagogeus, having constituted us the Court in accordance with the ordinance sent to him by Aristomachus, who is the appointed Strategus of the Arsinoite nome, of which this is a copy:—

> To Polydeuces greeting. Heracleia has requested the King in her petition to appoint in her case all the judges . . . . except such as either party may challenge in accordance with the decree. Year 21, Dystros 16, Pachon 19.

we have given judgment in the action brought by Dositheus against Heracleia according to the following indictment:—

> Dositheus, son of . . ., a Jew of the Epigone, against Heracleia, daughter of Diosdotus, a Jewess. (*The details of the assault and battery follow, but are too fragmentary for translation.*) Accordingly I bring this action against you, estimating the damages for the assault at 200 drachmae, and the costs of the trial at . . . In the 21st year, &c. The case will be tried in the Court held in the Arsinoite nome, of which Polydeuces is Eisagogeus, in the 21st year on the . . th of Peritius. You have the summons, served upon you personally; the witnesses of the summons being X, son of Nicias, a Thracian τῶν ἐπέργων, and Zopyrus, son of Symmachus, a Persian of the Epigone.

Whereas this was the charge, and Dositheus was neither present in person, nor handed in a written statement, nor . . . . . ; and whereas Heracleia was present, with her guardian Aristides, son of Proteas, an Athenian of the Epigone, and both handed in a written statement and justificatory documents, and was willing to defend the case; and whereas the ordinance, which was handed in by Heracleia with her other justificatory documents, directs us to give judgment on all points, which any person knows to be, or indicates to us as dealt with in the decrees of King Ptolemy, in accordance with those decrees, and on all points not dealt with in the decrees, but in the civic laws, in accordance with the laws, and on all other points in accordance with the strictest

justice; but when both parties have been duly summoned before the Court (?), whichever of them is unwilling to accept . . . . . shall be judged guilty of injustice: We have dismissed the case.

In the following notes the first copy is referred to as P.

6. P. has [καθισαν]τος [ημας] Πολυδευ[

10.]σαι τας. In P. Hal. 9 there is a small fragment from a similar document which is broken, unfortunately, at exactly the same letter,]σαντας και τον κληρον [λαχοντας; the editors reject Mitteis's suggestion ομο]σαντας on the ground that the taking of the oath could not be mentioned before the casting of lots: but it is quite possible that the Dicasts were first sworn, and then cast lots for the President of the court.

No stress can be laid on the number of challenges. The editors of P. Hal. suppose that only one was allowed to each party, because the relative was in the singular; but, unfortunately, it is possible in both copies to read either οὗ or ὧν; in P. it is rather more like ου, in this copy more like ων; but in both cases the writing is so bad that we cannot say which was meant. P. adds αυτων after εκατερος.

11. There are at least two mistakes in the date; one in the number of the year, which, in this copy, is quite clearly 21, but in P. is probably 22; the other in the name of the month, for this copy has Pachon, but in P. it is Pauni; and yet it is almost certain that both copies were written by the same person.

13. The final α of καθα is obtained from the parallel passage in PP. II. 21. Cf. Wilcken, *Archiv.* III. p. 515. But that document also is broken at this point.

14. σαυτην. P. sems to have σαυτον, and after κατηγορησας adds και μετα του ὀντος σοι κυριου, for which there is not room in this copy.

15. Possibly εν τωι Απιωνος τοπωι, cf. l. 18; but it looks more like τηι. The double mention of the house of Pasutis is suspiciously like an erroneous dittography.

20. In *Dikaiomata*, p. 116, 2, ἐ]νέπτυσας is suggested; but I think the reading ουτ[ω]ς in P. is certain. Cf. P. Mag. 24, 7 καὶ ἐνέπτυσεν εἰς τὸ πρόσω[πον. In l. 6 read, on the analogy of this passage, ἐπισπασαμένη τῆς ἀ[ναβολῆς τοῦ ἱματίου μου.

23. Cf. P. Mag. 24, 8, ἐπιτιμηθεῖσα δὲ ὑπό τινων τῶν παρόντων.

24–26. l. 25 of P., which here seems to be longer than the second copy, has, I think, πλ]ηγων, which would have stood near the end of l. 24 of this copy. L. 26–7 of P. probably contained something like και αρξασα] εις με χειρων αδικων το[υτους δε κατα το διαγραμμα επεμαρτυραμην. This would just fill the gap in the second copy after υβριζουσα, where the remains of the letters are very small and very faint, but not inconsistent with [κ]αι αρ[.

27. Two sums of money are mentioned, one as a penalty for ὕβρις, the other as τίμημα τῆς δίκης. Cf. P. Hib. 30, 19, διὸ δικάζομαί σοι τοῦ ἀρχαίου [καὶ τόκο]υ ⊢ Ἀν. τίμημα τῆς δίκης ⊢ Ἀν. Possibly 200 dr. was a fixed penalty in connexion with ὕβρις. Cf. Hib. 32, 7, πρὸς καταδίκην ἔρημον ὕβρεως πρὸς ⊢ σ καὶ τοῦ ἐπιδεκάτου ⊢ κ.

28. I suggest ἐν[επισκήπ]τομαι with hesitation; the εν is doubtful, but τομαι is quite certain.

35. In l. 36 of P. read [τουτου δε του] εγκλημ[ατο]ς οντος.

The end of the document has been recast. In P. the clause referring to Heracleia originally came first, and was followed by that dealing with Dositheus. It began Ηρακλειας μεν; then δε was written through the μεν, and there was written between the lines what might be read as Δωσιθεου μεν ουτε αυτου παροντος. The writer drew his pen through the whole clause referring to Dositheus, which differed considerably from that substituted for it in the second copy. It is very difficult to read, but I suggest with reserve:—

[[Δωσιθευ δε ουτε παροντος]]
[[[αυτου ουτε γρα]πτον λογον θεμενου ουτε καθισαντων των δικα]σ-]]
[[των . . . . . την ε]πιδειχθεισαν μαρτυριαν ουτε τα δικαιωματα]]
[[. . . . .] . . . ημιν και των της Ηρακλειας δικαιωματων]]

l. 46. Among the unpublished fragments of the Petrie papyri is a small strip containing the beginnings of lines, but so little of them that no sense could be obtained from them. It is worth publishing now, however, as an example of the way in which extracts were made from legal enactments. It contains five quotations, four of which are taken from the law edited by the Graeca Halensis with the title Dikaiomata. The first is evidently taken from an earlier part of the same decree, and was, I think, quoted here also:

αλλ[ο μερος
εαν[δε αμφοτερων των αντιδικων
παροντος . [εκα-
τερος ουν αυ[των μη βούληται
γραπτον λογο[ν θεσθαι
(*line lost*)
αλλο μερος
ο μαρτυριας [επιλαμβανομενος επιλαμ- Dikai. 24–28
βανεσθω π[αραχρημα οταν η γνωσις
αναγνωσθη[ι παρα δικαστων η διαιτη-
των η κριτ[ων επιλαμβανεσθω δε
παντων τ[ων ταυτα μαρτυρησαντων
αλλο μερος
εξεστω δε[και μερους της μαρτυριας επι- ib. 32.
λαμβανεσθα[ι

αλλο μερος
εαν δε τις κ[αταδικασθεισης αυτου — *ib.* ll. 44–46.
δικης επι[λαβομενος των μαρτυρων
γραψηται δι[κην κατα το διαγραμμα
αλλο μερος
εαν δε τις α[ποδικασθεισης — *ib.* l. 55.

ll. 2–5. The restorations of the beginnings of these lines are suggested by l. 46 f. of the present papyrus. The rather awkward ουν, which occurs in both documents, might be explained as due to an incomplete quotation, or perhaps goes closely with εκατερος, on the analogy of ὁστισοῦν, in the sense of either of the two parties, whichever it may be.

l. 48. I cannot make anything of this line. The end of it seems clearly written, but gives no sense. The doubtful υ is more like another σ. Possibly it is a mistake for συνιστασθαι.

III.

TAXES.

(*a*) 16 × 7 cm. (*b*) 10 × 2·5 cm. *c.* 219 B.C.

Two fragments of an account dealing with the taxes for embankments and on beer. The lines of the longer fragment are nearly complete, but most of the amounts are illegible or torn away. In l. 11 [. .], thesenouphis is the name of a god, which accounts for the fact that the payment is made through an agent.

(*a*)

[. .] . .
[Πά]ις Παῖτ[ος
[Πε]τεσοῦχος Ἀρυώτου Lγ . .
[χωμ]ατικὸν Θεόδοτος
[. . . .]ου Lγ . [
[Φίλ]ιππος Θεοδότου [.
[Ἀρσ]ινόη Κόνωνος . . . [
Lβ [
[χω]ματικὸν τοῦ δL Αἴλουρος [
[Σ]οκῶνυς Τεῶτος
[. . .]θεσενουφιος θεοῦ διὰ
[. .]ιος Φανήσιος . [
[ζ]υτηρᾶς Μηνόδωρος . . [
[. .]ος τόυ . . νιος

(*b*)

[Ἀνδ]ρόνικος [
ἀναφορὰ
[. . .]ναχθις Π[
[. . .]ν
[Δημή]τριος ρK[
[. . . .]νος .[
[χωμ]ατικὸν
[Ἀρσι]νόης L[

The 2nd, 3rd, and 4th years in which the payments are made are probably those of Philopator.

IV.

TRANSPORT OF CORN.

8 × 7·5 cm. 217 B.C.

An account of barley brought in Phamenoth and Pharmouthi of the sixth year (of Philopator) from Kerkesephis as provisions for Samaria. Samaria, but not Kerkesephis, occurs in the Petrie papyri. The two villages have been supposed by some to be identical, and probably in later times they were combined (see Tebt. II, p. 384). Here they are evidently distinct.

Ls [δ]ιὰ Σόλων[ος
σιτ[ο]ῦ τοῦ ἀνη[γ]-
μένου ἐν τῶι
Φαμενὼθ
λ̄ ἐκ Κερκε[σ]ήφεως
σιτάρια καὶ ζυ(τικὰ) Σαμαρείας
εἰς [Φ]αμενὼθ κρ(ιθῆς) ὀσδ̄
ἐ[ν τῶι] Φαρμοῦθι ὀσδ̄

V.

PETITION TO THE COMARCH.

13 × 10·5 cm. *c.* 215 B.C.

Πετήσι κωμάρχηι κώμης Λυ-
σιμάχιδος παρὰ Σοκομήνιος
τοῦ Σοκθώπου γεωργοῦ βασιλι-
κοῦ Πετεσοῦχος Ὡροῦ ὁ προ
τοῦ κωμαρχῶν Λυσιμάχιδα
παραγενόμενος πρὸς μὲ πυρε-
τουντος μου ἔλαβεν παρ' ἐμοῦ
χόρτου κεκομμένου ἀγ[κάλας

τπε ἐξ ἧς γεωργῶ γῆς βασιλι-
κῆς ἀπὸ τῶν γενημάτων
του ζL πυρῶν ἀρταβῶν
ἑπτὰ τὴν ἄρουραν ἑκάσ-
την / (πυρῶν) κα ἐφ ὠι ἀπο-
μετρησι εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν εἰς τ[ο
γιν . [.]ν τὸ ἐκφόριον ἐπεὶ οὖν
βαρύτερον διάκειμαι καὶ δύνα-
μαι πρᾶξαι αὐτὸν καλῶς ἄν
π[οήσ]αις ἀναγκάσας αὐτον
. . . . ε . . κ . . . . . ἐμοι

Translation:—To Petesis, comarch of the village Lysimachis, from Socomenis, son of Socthopus, a royal cultivator. Petesuchus, son of Horus, who was formerly comarch of Lysimachis, came to me when I was sick with a fever, and took from me 385 bundles of cut hay from the royal land which I cultivate at a rent of 7 artabae of wheat, from the produce of the 7th year, for each aroura, making 21 artabae of wheat, on condition that he shall pay the rent into the royal treasury. Since my health is worse, and I have a right to demand payment from him, you will do well to compel him to . . . . .

l. 10. The rent was assessed at seven artabae of wheat for each aroura to be paid out of the produce of the seventh year; but the crop was hay, of which Petesuchus took 385 bundles, promising to pay the rent to the treasury.

l. 15. The reading of this line is very doubtful; a horizontal strip of the fibres, passing through the middle of the letters, has been torn away.

VI.

OFFICIAL LETTER.

11 × 17 cm. 214 B.C.

Part of an official letter. Since the beginnings of the lines are lost, the meaning is uncertain. It seems to be an exhortation, addressed to some person and his associates, not to collect too much. The writer directs the recipient to report to him, as soon as he has read the letter, that

no excess has been levied . . . . . in order that he may be able to send off the . . . . .

χ]αίρειν ἐμ μεν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν εἰσδοχην

]τε οὐθὲν δεῖ λέγειν οἱ μαι γαρ ὑμᾶς ἐπ αὐτοῦ τοῦ

π]αρέξειν ἐάμπερ μὴ βούλησθε μετανοῆ[σαι

δ]ιὸ
ε]χημεραι . νάκουσι καὶ ὡς ἂν ἀναγ[ν]ῶις

]σον ἡμιν μηδεμίαν υπε[ρ]βολὴν απ . . . .

ι]ν ἐκπέμψωμεν τα . ε . ρα

ἔρρωσο Lη Παχὼν ῑγ

l. 2 possibly began with καιροις or χρονοις, and l. 3 with τοπου. 4. Probably [ως αν αναγνωις την επιστολην διασαφη]σον ημιν.

VII.

TRANSFER OF DEBT.

12 × 13·5 cm. *c.* 212 B.C.

A contract in the form of a letter. It seems that Sosibius was surety for the farmers of the Apomoira in a district referred to as οι τοποι, to the amount of 500 drachmae, up to the end of Pachon in the 11th year of Philopator. If the farmers failed, Sosibius would have to pay the money into the treasury; and they would then owe Sosibius the 500 drachmae. To protect themselves further, they approached the writer of the papyrus, who must have been under some obligation to them, and apparently induced him to promise to pay the money to Sosibius, if necessary, and obtain for them a receipt in full. The present papyrus is the contract in which the writer binds himself to produce Sosibius with the receipt. It is practically equivalent to the transfer of liability for a debt *a persona in personam*. At least one line containing the names of the writer and of the farmers is lost at the beginning.

. . . [. .] χαιρειν ἐπιδεχ[ομαι
ὑμειν παρεξεσθαι Σωσίβιον Σωσιβιου
Αἰνιανα τῆς ἐπιγονῆς γραφ[ο]μενον
ὑμειν συγγραφην ἀποχης των πεν-
τακοσιῶν δραχμῶν χαλκοῦ προς
ἀργύριον ων ἐνεγυήσατο ὑμας ἐκ-
της Φιλαδελφου ὑπερ τῶν το-
πων εἰς τὸ Lια ἕως Παχὼν λ
αυτωι
του ἐν τωῖ ἔτει εαν δε μὴ παρασ-
χώιμαι αυτον υμειν γραφομενον
καθοτι προγεγραπται ἀποτεισω
ὑμεῖν ἐν τῶι ἐχομενωι μηνι
δραχμας χιλιας ⊢ Α καὶ ἡ πρᾶ-
ξις ὑμεῖν ἔστω κατὰ τὰ δια-
γραμματα και τους νομους

Translation :—(X to Y and Z) greeting. I undertake to produce to you Sosibius the son of Sosibius, an Aenian of the Epigone, with a written receipt in your favour for the five hundred drachmae of copper in which he stood surety for you for the sixth of Philadelphus due from your places for the eleventh year up to the thirtieth of Pachon in the same year. If I fail to produce him with the receipt as is written above, I will pay to you in the following month one thousand drachmae, 1000 drachmae. And you will have the right to exact the money in accordance with the ordinances and the laws.

3. The tense of *γραφομενον* implies that the receipt would be written by Sosibius at the time when he was produced by the writer of this document.

5. *χαλ. προς αργυριον* is the same as *χαλ. ου αλλαγη*, copper paid instead of silver, that is, at a discount; but in Ptolemaic ostraca the *απομοιρα* is generally found paid in *χαλ. ισονομος*.

VIII.

ROBBERY OF A VINEYARD.

16 × 30 cm. 210 B.C.

L ιβ Ἐπεὶφ ι ὑπ(όμνημα) Τεῶι βα(σιλικῶι) γρ(αμματεῖ)
[Α]μωσις κωμογραμματεὺς Ἀπολλωνιάδος Τεῶι χαίρειν
[το]ῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν προσαγγέλματος παρ' Ἡράκωντος τοῦ προεστη[κ]ότο[ς
[τ]ῶν Πειθολάου ὑποτέθεικά σοι τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὅπως εἰδῆς
Ἔρρωσο ιβ Ἐπεὶφ θ
[π]ροσ[ά]γγελμα Ἀμώσει κωμογραμματεῖ κώμης Ἀπολλωνιάδος π[αρα
[Η]ράκ[ω]ντος τοῦ προεστηκότος τῶν Πειθολάου ἐπελθόντες [τῆι .
[το]ῦ Ε[π]εὶφ ἐπὶ τὸν παράδεισον τοῦ προγεγραμμένου Πειθολάου ο[ντα
περὶ τὴν προγεγραμμένην κώμην Θεόφιλος Δωσιθέου Φιλιστίων [. . . .
καὶ Τίμαιος Τελουφιος οἱ τρεῖς Ἰουδαῖοι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἐξετρύγησ[αν
ἀμ[π]έλους ῑ καὶ Ὧρου τοῦ φύλακος ἐκδραμόντος ἐπ' αὐτους κακ[οποή-
σα[ν]τες αὐτὸν ἔτυπτον εἰς ὁ ἔτυχον μέρος τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἀφεί[λον-
το [ἀμ]πελουργικὸν δρέπανον τυγχάνουσι δὲ οἱ προγεγραμένοι λησι[ταὶ ἐν
Κε[ρ]κεοσίρει κατοικοῦντες ἰκάζω δὲ τὰ τετρυγημένα εἰς οἴνου με(τρήτας) ς

Translation :—

Year 12 Epeiph 10. Memorandum to Teos, the Royal Scribe.

Amosis komogrammateus of Apollonias to Teos, greeting. I have subjoined for your information a copy of the report sent to me by Heracon, the superintendent of the property of Peitholaus.

Farewell Year 12 Epeiph 9.

Report to Amosis komogrammateus of the village Apollonias from Heracon, the superintendent of the property of Peitholaus. On the . . . of Epeiph, Theophilus, son of Dositheus, Philistion, son of . . . ., and Timaeus, son of Telouphis, all three Jews of the Epigone, having entered the vineyard of the aforesaid Peitholaus, which is near the aforesaid village, gathered the grapes of ten vines; and when Horus, the guard, ran out against them, they maltreated him, and struck him on any part of the body they could. And they carried off a vinedresser's pruning-hook. The aforesaid robbers are living in Kerkeosiris. I estimate the grapes gathered at six metretae of wine.

On the verso :—

L ιβ Ἐπεὶφ ι περὶ
. . . . . .
βα(σιλικῶι) γρ(αμματεῖ) ἀμ(πελῶνος) Πειθολάου τετρυ-
γημένου

ΤΕΩΙ

1. This line is in a different hand from the rest of the document.

4. In P. Eleph. XXVIII. 4, mention is made of a Peitholaus, who was leader of the κυνηγοι in the 25th year of Energetes. He is identified by Rostowzew (*Arch.* v, p. 181) with Πυθολαος, the general of the elephant hunters (*Strabo*, xvi, 4, 14), and may be the same as the Peitholaus of this papyrus. His absence on active service would account for the fact that his property was being administered by a superintendent.

IX.

ASSAULT ON SERAMBUS.

δ. 5 × 12 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Three fragments of evidence in a case of assault were published by Dr. Mahaffy in PP. II, xviii, and Introd., p. 31. It seems that Apollodorus and some other workmen were engaged on an embankment repairing an αφεσις, or place for letting out water. Paos (1. Παωτος for παντα in l. 4), probably a foreman, seems to have sent for Serambus, who, on his arrival, was violently assaulted by Apollodorus. Among the unpublished fragments of the Petrie Papyri is another small scrap of the same document:

]ου πλήσιον α[
Σ]ηράμβου κλῆρον καὶ καταβα[
]ατ . ν ἐπὶ τοῦ γύου και[
]ος ἐπιδόντων εκα[

Dr. Mahaffy thought that Serambus was an Egyptian; but the name is Greek, and occurs in a fragment of Poseidippus (Kock, 29), where all the MSS. have Σηραμβου, which Meineke, followed by Kock, altered on the strength of a quotation in Athenaeus into Σαραβου. Similarly editors of *Plat. Gorg.*, 518B, have changed Σαραμβος of the MSS. into Σαραβος. Serambus is found in Pausanias also as the name of an Aeginetan sculptor.

The present papyrus is written in a different and smaller hand, but evidently refers to the same transaction: the same names—Paos, Serambus, and Apollodorus—occur in it, and it refers to the αφεσις, and to the work on the embankment. It seems to be part of a detailed description of the place where the assault was committed, but adds very little to our knowledge.

]. ι τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μεριδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομ[ου
] Παῶτος τῶι ὄντι περὶ τὴν προγεγραμ[μ]έ-
[νην κώμην χώματι ἐσ]τιν ἀπο νότου τοῦ Σηράμβου κλήρου τοῦ
ἐ]στιν ἐκ τοῦ προς λίβα μέρους πρῶτος
[[ ] τὴν ἄφεσιν καὶ ἡμῶν χωννύντων καὶ]] 5
ημων
κ]αὶ καταλαβόντων ἄλλους τε καὶ Σή-
[ραμβον] καὶ τοῦ Παῶτος συντάσσοντος
] ἄφεσιν
]ηκότος
]. Ἀπολλόδωρος 10
]μηθεν

1. This line contained the name of the village.

2. I suppose that before Παωτος there was a participle, indicating that Paos was in charge of the embankment, described in the words :—*τωι οντι περι την προγεγραμμενην κωμην χωματι ο εστιν απο νοτου*, &c.

4. *προς* corr. from *απο*.

X.

TEMPLE PROPERTY.

13 × 13·5 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Part of a petition, of which the beginning, the end, and the ends of the lines are lost. The surface of what remains is much damaged; but a general idea can be formed of the transaction, which was very unusual. It seems that some official had opened a box (?) belonging to a temple; he took out of it, and carried away, six silver chains, some collars, and twenty-two quarters of gold, which had been provided for libations and sacrifices on behalf of the King and Queen, and for a sacred . . . .; he arrested the petitioners—presumably the owners or guardians of this temple property—and, having taken them to Crocodilopolis, kept them in prison there till he had exacted a sum of money (?) from them. They now demand that he should be sent for, and examined, and, if proved to have done these things, should be compelled to restore the property to the temple.

. . τοῦ ἐγκου . . [
προελων
. . ἀνοίξας ἀπηνέγκατο εξ .[. . . . . .
αλυσεις ἀργυρας s και κλοιου[s . . . . . .
επιτε[ταγμένα
[κ]αι χρυσίου τεταρτας κβ ε . [. . . . . .
γινομενας
εἰς τε τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ θυσιας ὑπὲ[ρ τοῦ βασιλέως 5
καὶ τῆς βασιλίσσης κα[ι] εἰς τὸν ἱερ[ὸν . . . . . .
καὶ ἀναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς εἰς Κροκοδ[ίλων πόλιν
ἀπέθετο εἰς τὴν φυ(λακὴν) κοῦ πρότ[ερον . . . . .
ἀφῆκεν ἡμᾶς ἕως ἔπραξεν [
ἀξιοῦμεν οὖν σὲ ἐπειδὴ επ[. 10
σθαι
συντάξαι μεταπεμψά[μεν] αὐτ[ὸν καὶ . . . .
ἐπισκέψασθαι ιν ἐὰν παρὰ δίκην [φαίνηται
επαναγκ[ασθη
ταῦτα συντετελεσμένος ἄπαν[τα . . . . .
[τα] τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποκαταστῆσαι ε[
[. . . .]ν καὶ ἡμῖν [15
. . . ἐν ἡμέρ[αις
[ἐ]ν τῶι ἱερῶι χ[

1. The α of απηνεγκατο seems to have been cancelled, or corrected when προελων was written above it.

3. ἁλύσεις and κλοιοί are ornamental chains and collars. Cf. Pollux, 10. 167, ἡ δὲ ἅλυσις οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ γυναικείου κόσμου ὠνόμασται παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει "σφραγῖδας ἁλύσεις," and the χρύσεον κλοιόν, which charmed Helen in Eur. Cycl. 184. An ἁλύσιον worth 40 dr. is mentioned in P. Hib. 121. 3, and the form ἁλυσίδιον occurs in P. Oxy. 496. 3 and 528. 20.

6. Possibly for some sacred animal, such as Apis.

12. δικην is very doubtful; the writing is very cursive and much damaged, and that παρὰ δίκην for παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον was unusual, is indicated by the gloss παρὰ δίκην: παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, which is found both in Suidas and Hesychius. It would also be just possible to reconcile παρα δεον φ[αινηται with the traces.

XI.

OFFICIAL LETTER.

13·5 × 10 cm. *c.* 210 B.C.

The end of a letter containing an order to pay 500 artabae of wheat, without causing any difficulties, and to obtain a receipt. Dated in the 13th year, probably of Philopator.

καὶ οὖσι παρὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ
ἀντιγραφέως πυροῦ τοῦ
ἐκ τοῦ ιL (ἀρταβ.) φ
μετρεῖ καὶ σὺ μηθὲν
ἐπικωλύων καὶ σύμβ[ο]λον
ποιῆσαι πρὸς αὐτούς
ἔρρωσο Lιγ Ἐπειφ ε̄

XII.

DATE OF PHILOPATOR.

8 × 6·3 cm. 209 B.C.

This is a small fragment of papyrus containing the beginnings of the lines of a date. Fortunately part of the names of Eirene, the athlophorus of Berenice Euergetis, and of Iamneia, the kanephorus of Arsinoe Philadelphus, are preserved. These names are known from an incomplete date in PP. II, 47, which should be read:—

Φιλοπα[τόρων] ἀθ[λο]φόρου Βερ[ενίκης Εὐεργέτιδος
Εἰρήνης τῆς Μητροφάνους [κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης
Φιλαδελφου Ιαμνειας τῆς [. . . . . μηνὸς
Δαισίου πέντε καὶ δεκάτη[ι

We thus obtain the exact length, 48 letters, of l. 5. From this it follows that the date belongs to Philopator, since the formulae of no other king will fit the lacunae. In this way the missing parts of lines 3–5 can

be restored with certainty. The PP. document has a registration docket of the 13th year. Hence we may with certainty assign this fragment to the 13th year of Philopator. The presence of *και* in l. 2, and the length of the lacuna, prove that *Πτολεμαιου του νιου* must have stood in the text. We thus learn that Epiphanes had been associated with his father before 25 Pharmouthi of the 13th year. Revillout, *Rev. Egypt.* iii, p. 2, has deduced from a Demotic contract in the British Museum that he had been already associated with his father in the 15th year; and, from another, that he had not been so associated in the 12th. We know from the Rosetta Stone that he was born on Mesore 30, and from the Canon that Philopator survived Thouth I. of his 18th year, that is, 13th October, 205 B.C. From this papyrus we learn that Epiphanes had been associated with his father before 5th June, 209. Revillout has, I think, proved that the association took place on 17th Phaophi. We may conclude that Epiphanes was born 8th October, 210, and that he was associated with his father as king fifty days later, on 29th November.

[Β]ασιλεύοντος [Πτολεμαίου του Πτολεμαιου και Βερενίκης θεών
[Ευ]εργετῶν καὶ [Πτολεμαίου τοῦ υἱοῦ ἔτους ιγ ἐφ' ἱερέως . . . . . του
. . λε . [.]ορ . [.] Α[λεξάνδρου καὶ θεῶν Σωτήρων καὶ θεων Ἀδελφῶν
καὶ θεῶν Εὐερ[γετῶν καὶ θεων φιλοπατόρων ἀθλοφόρου Βερενίκης
Εὐεργέτιδος Εἰρ[ήνης τῆς Μητροφάνους κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης
Φιλαδελφου [Ι]αμ[νείας της . . . . . μηνὸς Δίου . Αἰγυπτίων
δὲ Φαρ[μ]ουθ[θι] κε.

7. The beginning of this line is quite illegible, but the names of the months can, I think, be established as follows:—The number of the day is quite distinct; immediately before it is a hole in the papyrus, and before this *ου*; the rest might be almost anything. The letters *ου* could be the end of the name of any Macedonian month; but that they are not is proved by the length of the lacuna in l. 6; this is so great that the names of both the Macedonian and the Egyptian months must have been given. In such cases the Macedonian month always comes first; therefore the month in l. 7 is Egyptian, aud must be Pharmouthi, the only Egyptian month-name which contains the letters *ου*. When we fill up the necessary words of the formula, and allow space for the name of Iamneia's father, which in the PP. document filled a space of about 12 letters, we are left with only 3–5 letters for the Macedonian month, and the only names short enough are *Διου* and *Λωιου*. Dios is a more suitable correspondence at this period, and admits room for a number after it. I have restored the text accordingly.

XIII.

ORDER TO COLLECT DEBTS.

33 × 7·5 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Ἀριστ[ο]κριτος Διοδώρωι
χαίρειν διελθε εἰς τὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρου νῆσον
καὶ πρᾶξον Ἀλέξανδρον
τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ περισ-
τερῶνος ⊢ ιβ καὶ Ἐπι-
γένην τὴν ἀναφορὰν
τοῦ βαλανείου καὶ τὸν
παρὰ Ἀγήνορος τὸ ἐν-
νόμιον νγ= Ζαι . συν
Ἀβράκου γ∫= Εἰρήνην
Αἰγύπ[το]υ = Ἰάσονα ν
Σαραπί[ωνα] = Θεόγενον
Φ[α]νήσιος . . Κα . . [. . . .] ∫–
Σαρ . . .[
Ἀφύγχιν [. . . . .]ς∫–
καὶ Κώιλιν τὸ[ν] ἐγ Λα–
γίδος κῶ(μης) ⊢ [
τὸ ἐννόμιον καὶ
Ἀνίκητον τὸν φόρον
τοῦ βαλανείου καὶ τὸν
βαλανέα τὸν ἐγ Βερενι–
κίδος εἴρηκε γὰρ Ἀρίων ἀπαιτεῖ τὴν ἀναφοράν
Ἀντιμάχου πρᾶξαι αὐτὸν
πάντα τὰ ἐφελκόμενα
Κάγιν δὲ τὸν λ[ογευ]τὴν
ἔχε μετὰ σαυ[τοῦ] εἰς τὰς
ἀποστολὰς ἔρρ[ωσο

On the *verso*: Διοδώρωι

Translation:—Aristocritus to Diodorus greeting. Go over to Alexander's Island and demand from Alexander payment of the amount still due for his pigeon-house, 12dr.; from Epigenes the instalment due for his bath-house; from the agent of Agenor the pasture tax, 53dr. 2ob.; from Z., son of Abracus, 3dr. 5ob.; from Eirene, daughter of Aegyptus, 2ob.; from Iason, 50dr.; from Serapion, 2ob.; . . . . . and from Anicetus the rent of the bath-house, and demand the instalment from the bathman from Berenicis. For Arion, son of Antimachus, has given orders to exact from him all the sums due. But keep Kagis the . . . with you, that you may send him with the money. Farewell.

26. The reading λ[ογευ]τὴν is very doubtful.

XIV.

RECEIPT.

11 × 6 cm. 219 B.C.

This papyrus is the beginning of a receipt given by Horus, the son of Pagonbius, for corn paid into the Storehouse at Letopolis on behalf of the village of Arabians. Both of these villages were in the Division of Heracleides.

Ετους δ
Φαωφι λ̄ μεμε-
τρηκεν εις τον
εν Λητους πυ(λει)
θη(σαυρον) υπερ Αραβων
κω(μης) Ωρωι τωι
Παγωνβιου
σιτολογωι
ης εχει . . .

XV.

RECEIPT.

4·3 × 11 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

[Πτολέ]μαιος Διόσ[δο]τος Ἀγάθων Ἀλέξανδρος
[. . . . .] Πετεσοῦχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ὧρ[ωι
[. . . .]ητου χαίρειν ἀπέχομεν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν
[κα]ὶ τῶν συνεπακολουθούντων τὴν
[. . . . .]ν ὑμῖν οἰνικὴν

5. Since συνεπακολουθουντων would be followed by a dative, την . . . . οινικην must depend upon απεχομεν; but then it becomes difficult to explain υμιν. If we suppose υμιν to be a mistake for ημιν, the first word of the next line might have been συνταξιν, and the sentence would mean: "We have received from you the allowance of wine due to us."

XVI.

RECEIPT.

11 × 6 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

A receipt for $1\frac{3}{4}$ artabae of wheat from Apollonius, the agent of the sitologus Callicrates, to Tothoes, son of Petesuchus, for the tax on his vineyard, which he cultivated in association with others; his share being a quarter.

Τοθοης Πε-	το δ́ (πυρου) μιαν
τεσουχου	∠δ́ / α∠δ́
φορον του αυ-	δι Απολλωνιου
του αμ(πελωνος) ου με-	του π[α]ρ[α
τεχει γεγορ-	Καλλικρατ[ου
γησαι κατα	του σ[ιτολογου

5. γεγοργησαι is probably a mistake for γεωργησαι.

XVII.

LIST OF PERSONS.

5·5 × 7 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

The two villages mentioned in this fragment were both in the Division of Themistes, and are found together also in PP. III. 117, h. col. ii. Accounts referring to a class of people called ὀρφανοί have been published in PP. II. 29, c. and III. 110. It is generally supposed that they were sons of soldiers killed on active service, and had received a κλῆρος as a reward for the services rendered by their fathers (see Lesquier, *Inst. Milit. sous les Lagides*, p. 36, n. 3).

Πυρρείας

Ἀγάθων ρϪ ἐν τῶι[

Ἀντιφάνης ὀρφανὸς [

/ β (γινοντο

Ἀλεξάνδρου Ν[ήσου

XVIII.

MEMORANDA OF AN INSPECTOR.

7 × 25·5 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

The *recto* is demotic. On the *verso* are the tops of three columns containing the names of thirty-aroura and twenty-aroura cleruchs, and of villages. Each line, even the date, has some kind of mark against it, sometimes a Y with o above it (this mark occurs also in PP. III. 54, 4, written in the margin opposite the names of cavalry officers; it was suggested that it stood for *ουραγος*; but, since that meaning is impossible here, it is more likely that it denotes some kind of negative), sometimes a sloping line, and sometimes a cross (X); the two strokes of these crosses look as if they had been made at different times. In two instances details are given about land, but they were, I think, written later, with a rather thicker pen; they both project into the margin, and the first of them even trespasses upon the second column. I suggest that the entries were rough notes, made by some inspector, of what he had to do, who indicated the results by special marks and occasional notes.

Col. I.

Y̊ Φαρμοῦθι $\bar{\theta}$
Y̊ λ Μακεδόνων
Y̊ Κερκεοσίρεως
Y̊ Δημητρίου τοῦ Πυρρίου
X κ Πτολεμείδα Ωρ( )
X Λεωνίδου τοῦ Ζήνωνος ἀσπό(ρου) βεβρε(γμένης) κ
Κερκεοσίρεως
. . . . . .

Col. II.

X κ διὰ Θεοδότου
X Βουκόλων κώ(μης)
X Ἡφαιστίωνος τοῦ Θέωνος ἀβρόχο(υ) κ
Y̊ Θεοξενίδος

Ὑ Πρόξενος τοῦ Σωκράτους

Ὑ λ δι᾽ Ἀσκληπιάδου Λ κώ(μης)

[. . . . .] Ἀσιαγόνου

. . . . . .

Col. III.

Βουκόλων κώ[μης 15

Φιλιστ[ου

Αμ . . α .[

Ἀνουβιά[δος

Χ ἐν δὲ τῆι . .( )[

. .( ) ο . νο( ) ο [20

. . . . . .

5. ει is a correction.

6. ασπ. βεβρε. was probably added afterwards to note that the whole 20 arourae of Leonidas were unsown, though they had been irrigated. Compare l. 10, where it is noted that the 20 arourae of Hephaestion had not been irrigated.

13. The abbreviation, which resembles a Λ with a long sloping line on top, may represent a title, or, perhaps, the name of a village; but Τρικωμια cannot be read.

20. Some abbreviations, of which only fragments are preserved.

XIX.

PAYMENT OF SOLDIERS.

7·5 × 27 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

The writing on the *recto* is demotic: on the *verso* is part of an account of, or an order for, payments of wheat, at the rate of three-quarters of an artaba, made (*a*) to 147 persons out of the supplies set apart for them; (*b*) to 98 soldiers who accompanied Teres(?), a υπηρετης, from the city, perhaps to Polydeucia, which was in the Division of Themistes. In the margin are

two long sloping lines marking ll. 1 and 4, and the amount in the last line was written by a different hand.

. . . .[
ρμζ λ.( ) ε.( ) (ἀνὰ) ∠δ̣ ριδ̣ . . . . .[
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτιθεμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ[
Τ̣ήρηι ὑπηρέτηι ὥστε τοῖς ἀπὸ πόλεω[ς
συνηκολουθηκόσι αὐτῶι στρατιώταις $\overline{\text{ρη}}$ 5
δέοντα . . . (ἀρταβ.) ογ∠ / πυρῶν ρπγ∠δ̣
ἔγρ(αψα) εἰς Πολυδευκίαν 2nd hand (πυρῶν) ρπ[γ∠]δ̣

2. $147 \times \frac{3}{4} = 110\frac{1}{4}$. I do not understand the abbreviated words in this line.

5–6. $98 \times \frac{3}{4} = 73\frac{1}{2}$ and $110\frac{1}{4} + 73\frac{1}{2} = 183\frac{3}{4}$.

7. Whether we expand *εγραψα* or *εγραψεν*, the first three words of this line are in the same hand as the rest of the document.

XX.

OFFICIAL LETTER.

10·5 × 29 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Τεῶς Τεῶτι χαίρειν ἀναγνόντες τ[ὴν παρὰ σο]ῦ ἐπιστολὴν ἐν ᾗι
διεσαφεῖς Διονύσιον τὸν τοπάρχην συσχόντα τοὺς ἐν τῆι κώμηι γεωργοὺς
πρὸς τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὀφειλήματα μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ πράξαντα χαλκοῦ ⊢ [. .
γεγράφαμεν Διονυσίωι τῶι οἰκονόμωι φροντίσαι ἵν' ὁ χαλκὸς διαγράφηι εἰς τὴν
βασιλικὴν τράπεζ[αν
διασάφησον [

In the margin opposite line 2:

ἡ κώμη
ἐστὶν
Ἀνδροµα-
χίδος

Translation:—Teos to Teos greeting. Having read your letter, in which you point out that Dionysius, the toparch, has arrested the cultivators who are in the village for

the debts due from them, and has subsequently exacted from them x drachmae of copper, we have written to Dionysius, the oeconomus, to take care that the money be paid into the Royal Bank.

In the margin :—The village is Andromachis.

1. Teos, the writer of this letter, is probably the Royal Scribe to whom VIII. is addressed. Both Andromachis and Apollonias were in the Division of Themistes.

XXI.

OFFICIAL LETTER.

12 × 21 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

Part of a letter from Imouthes to the toparchs, enclosing a copy of a letter from Protarchus, in which they were ordered to visit the cultivated land and demand payment of dues from the cultivators. The writing is large and clear where it is preserved, but the surface of the papyrus is very much damaged.

Ἰμούθης τοῖς τοπ[άρχαις χαίρειν
τῆς παρὰ Πρωτάρχ[ου ἐπιστολῆς
ἀπέσταλκα ὑμῖν τὸ [ἀντίγραφον ἐν ᾗι
συντέτακται πα[. . . . . τὴν γε-
γεωργω[μέν]ην πρᾶξ[αι
π . . . . . ἀναγράψα[ντες
τὸ ὑπάρχον τῆς κα[
δοῦναι τοὺς τῶν κτ[
πέμψατε πρὸς ηβ . .[
[μ]ετὰ τάχους εἰ δὲ τοῦ[το

1. This Imouthes was probably the basilicogrammateus of PP. III. 72(a), and P. Cairo 10274 (*Archiv.* II, p. 83). These papyri are dated in the 15th(?) and 14th years; but it is not certain whether they are years of Evergetes I or of Philopator. Possibly the agent of Petosiris in PP. 43. 2. ii. 11 (Ιμουθου του παρα Πετοσειριος βα(σιλικου) γρ(αμματεως)), dated in the 2nd year of Euergetes, was the same person, subsequently appointed as the successor of Petosiris.

4. παραγενεσθαι, or παραγενομενους εις την γε is too long for the lacuna, unless this line was longer than the others. Dr. Hunt suggests πα[ντας εχοντας γην γε-, depending on πραξαι.

9. It is not possible to read πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

XXII.

LIST OF SHEEP AND GOATS.

31 × 22 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

This is a list of sheep and lambs, goats and kids belonging to a number of temples or shrines. The name of the first is lost: we have only the last two entries and the total. Of the others, those of Mithras, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Nephthimis are easy to recognise; but Πανω is a curious form, for which Πανειου would have been expected if it had referred to Pan, and the person connected with it has a Semitic name. Σαχμιειον was probably a shrine of Sekket, the lion-headed goddess. I do not know to whom that entitled Ναχβανεως or Ναχπανεως was dedicated. Many of the proper names also are unknown to me. In the case of the larger shrines, the total number of sheep, lambs, goats, and kids is given. There is such an addition in l. 4, and another in l. 35; in the latter the number of lambs cannot be determined, but it was more than 47; the number of sheep in the detailed entries is 107, which leaves 9 to be divided between the five cases where the numbers are torn away; in two of these cases the word προβατον is in the singular, so we may assign one to each of them; since each of the others had more than one sheep, one of them must have had three and the others two each. The two goats and the three kids come from l. 24.

Col. I.

Ἀνδρονικος πυρσουρὸς πρόβατα ς
Φα[ι]ῆς Μιθροδάτου προβατα β
αρνον α
[γινεται] προβατα ρκε
[ἀρ]νες μα αἶγες ς ἔριφοι δ 5
Ναχβανεως
Ἄρθνις Ὁμέννιος πρόβα(τα) ιβ
ἄρνες ς
Ὀννῶφρις Πάσιτος πρόβα(τα) γ

Μιθραίου

Θυῆρις Χαιάπιος πρόβα(τα) ιγ

ἄρνες ε

Μιράσιστις Ὀρέννιος πρόβα(τα) κ

[Ἀβ]ιστις Ἀβίστιος πρόβατα ε

ἄρνον α

Υ[....]..υτου πρόβα(τα) γ

ἄρνες β

Ὀπᾶις Γῶβιος πρόβατα ις

ἄρνες ς

[Η]δῦλος Μάρωνος πρόβα(τα) ε

ἄρνες α

Ἀφροδισίου

Σύμμαχος Δημητρίου πρόβα(τα) λ

ἄρνες ι αἶγας β ἔριφοι γ

Col. II.

Τετοσῖρις Ψενεῖσιος πρόβατα ξ

ἀρνες λ

Μύρτιον πρόβατα ιβ ἄρνες ς [

Δωροθέου πρόβατα [γ

καὶ Τυδέως πρόβατα δ ἀρ[νες .

καὶ Πτολεμαίου πρόβατον [α

καὶ Πετοσίριος πρόβατον [α

καὶ Σισίνου πρόβατα [β

Ἑστιαῖος Ἀριδαίου πρόβατα [β

Εἰρήνη πρόβατον α ἄρνον [α

γίνεται πρόβατα ρις ἄρνε[ς . .

αἶγες β ἔριφοι [γ

Ἑρμαίου

Ὧρος Ὧρου πρόβατα λ ἀ[ρνες .

Ὀβεστερταῖς Ἀρεμβάσιος
προβατα α αρης [α
Ἰναρωυς Ωρου προβατα δ
ἄρης [α]
Σαχμιείου
Αὐγχις μοσχοτρόφος πρόβ[ατα .
Νεφθιμιείου
Σειληνὸς Ποσειδω[νίου πρόβατα .
Ἀρίσταρχος πρόβατα γ
Πανῶ
Ἰδέλλας Σαβαθώιτος πρόβατα [. . .
ἄρνας ρκ αἶγες γ ἐρ[ιφοι .

1. Πυρσουρος seems to be an impossible form as the genitive of a proper name, so I take it to be a descriptive word, like μοσχοτροφος in l. 44. The word is found in Polyaen. *Strat.* 3. 9. 55 of men who give signals with torches: Suidas calls their watch towers πυρσουρίδες, and Pollux 9. 14 mentions πυρσούρια (al. πυρσούργια) in his enumeration of τὰ μέρη τῶν προαστείων.

3. The nominative singular of the word ἄρνες is not found in Classical Greek, but αρην occurs in inscriptions: the writer of this papyrus was himself uncertain about it, for he writes αρνον three times and αρης twice.

5. Ναχπανεως might be read; the fourth letter is badly written and crowded; its second stroke overlaps the following α.

10. It is interesting to find mention of a Mithraeum in the Fayoum in the 3rd cent. B.C. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* I, p. 242, admits that one is tempted to believe that Mithra may have been adored in Memphis in very early times, because we know of Persian garrisons in Egypt, and settlements, in the time of the Ptolemies, of Persian soldiers. But, on the ground that Mithra has never been found mentioned in an Egyptian inscription, he maintains that the cult was not introduced there till the time of the Romans.

16. The letter before του has been corrected: σ and υ were both written, one on top of the other; it is impossible to say which was written first.

XXIII.

RENT OF ERGASTERIA.

30 × 17 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

The writing on the *recto* of this papyrus is demotic. On the *verso* are two columns of Greek, of which the first has lost the beginnings, the second the ends of the lines. It is an account of three σιτικα εργαστηρια, each of which has several villages grouped in it: the first is that near Tebtunis, and includes Kerkesoucha and the εποικιον of Heracleides; the second is that near Mouchis, and includes Aphrodites Polis and Eleusis; the third, near Memphis, includes Hiera Nesos. All these villages are in the Division of Polemon; some of the names have been completed by conjecture; but there can be little doubt about them. The entries are for μισθωσις and σπερμα, both of which may be either in wheat or barley. From the former one forty-ninth is always subtracted, the remainder being indicated by the symbol ⌒; but no deduction is made from the seed.

Col. I.

[τοῦ περὶ] Τεβτῦνιν διὰ σιτολόγου
] καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν Ἀπολλοδώρου
] βασιλικοῦ γρ(αμματέως) Παωπιος
] Τε[β]τύνεως
[ἐν Κερκε]σούχοις ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
[μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρῶν)] Ἀφλδ / λαδ ⌒ Ἀφβ[/δ]
[ἐν τῶι Ἡρα]κλείδου ἐπ(οικίωι) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
[μίσ(θωσις) πυ(ρῶν)] τλς /ς/δ ⌒ τκθδ
[καὶ ὑπὲρ Τ]εβτύνεως μίσ(θωσις) πυ(ρῶν) Ἀσα/
κδγ ⌒ Ἀροςβ
[/ τοῦ ἐργαστ]ηρίου μίσ(θωσις) πυ(ρῶν) Γοα/
ξ[β]γ ⌒ Γηβ
[τοῦ περὶ Μο]ῦχιν
[ἐμ Μούχι ὑ]περ [αὐτῆς
(*Traces of four lines.*)
[ἐν . . . . . ὑπὲ]ρ αὐτῆς
[σπέρμα πυ(ρῶν) . .] κριθῶν ωοε
[μίσ(θωσις) πυ(ρῶν) σιζ/] δγ ⌒ σιββ

Col. II.

[κρι]θ[ω]ν ξ. ⟋[.. ⁀ ..
ἐν Ἀ[φ]ροδίτης [πόλει ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
σπέρμα πυ(ρῶν) Ἀ . [
μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρῶν) Ἀρς∠ [⟋κβ∠ ⁀ Ἀπδ
ἐν Ἐλεύσινι ὑ[πὲρ αὐτῆς
σπέρμα πυ(ρων) Ἀ κ[ριθῶν ..
μίσ[θωσις) πυ(ρῶν) Ἀσπδ́ς́ [⟋κς́ς́ ⁀ Ἀσνης́
/ τοῦ ἐργ[α]στηρ[ίου
σπέρμα πυρῶν [. . . . κριθῶν . . . .
μίσ(θωσις) πυ(ρῶν) Ἐτμγ∠ϛ́ [⟋ ρθ ⁀ Ἐσλδ∠ ϛ́
κρ(ιθων) χξ[θ] ⟋ ιγ∠ϛ́ [⁀ χνες́
τοῦ περὶ Με[μ]φιν
ἐμ Μέμφι υπερ [αὐτῆς
σπέρμα πυ(ρῶν) σ . . [
μίσθωσις [
ἐν Ἱεραῖ Νήσωι ὑπὲρ [αὐτῆς
σπέρμα πυ(ρῶν) ρκ κ[ριθῶν . . . .
μισ(θωσις) πυ(ρων) ωξδ∠ ⟋ ιζ∠ [⁀ ωμζ
κρ(ιθῶν) υξς ⟋ θβ́ ⁀ [υνς́ϛ́

l. 11. The entries for the *εργαστηριον* near Tebtunis are all for *μισθωσις*, and, since the numbers are fully preserved, the three items may be tabulated:—

1534	–	$31\frac{1}{4}$	=	$1502\frac{3}{4}$
336	–	$6\frac{3}{4}$	=	$329\frac{1}{4}$
1201	–	$24\frac{1}{3}$	=	$1176\frac{2}{3}$
3071	–	$62\frac{1}{3}$	=	$3008\frac{2}{3}$

XXIV.

TAXING ACCOUNT.

(*a*) 19 × 18 cm. (*b*) 20 × 17·5 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

This papyrus contains part of a list of taxes, with the instalments paid each month. The general form of the document seems to have been:—first the name of the tax, such as Ζυτηρας or Νιτρικων; then a list of the villages, each accompanied by the name of the farmer and the total amount paid by him, with the dates and the amounts of the monthly instalments. This probably was followed by a summary of the totals for the whole district; such a summary, for the beer-tax, occurs in Fr. (*b*). All the villages mentioned, Alabanthis, Pseonnophris, Ptolemais Nea, Syron Kome, and Aueris Nebla, are in the Division of Heracleides (see P. Teb. II. App.). Aueris and Nebla seem to be identified here, and in PP. III, 37 b, *verso* 21, they are coupled together (Νεβλας και Ανηρεως ξβ) in a combined payment made by two brewers.

It is surprising that each of the three series of dates begins with Choiak, and extends over a whole year to Athyr. The reason for this is not to be sought in the supposition that the official or Revenue year began in Choiak, but probably arose from some peculiarity in the farming of the beer-tax. If this be so, Fr. (*a*), in which the name of the tax is not preserved, would also refer to the beer-tax; but at least one column must be lost between the two fragments, because (*a*) has the first letter of each of two lines of the following column, and they do not correspond with (*b*).

Frag. (*a*). Col. i is mostly illegible; it contained accounts of money.

Col. II.

[Αλαβα]ντίδος

Φαιῆς Ἀρβήχιος Γω

ὧν ἀναφοραὶ

Χοιὰχ υ Τῦβι υμ Μεχεὶρ .

[ε]ως Φαρμοῦθι ἀνὰ τ

Παχὼν ἕως Ἐπεὶφ ἀνὰ σ χ

Μεσορὴ σξ Θωὺθ τ
[Φ]αῶφι φκ Ἁθὺρ τπ / Ἰω

Ψεοννώφρεως
Πᾶσις Παστερνάχθιος Ἀ
ὧν ἀναφοραὶ
Χοιὰχ καὶ Τῦβι ἀνὰ οβ ρμδ
[Μεχ]εὶρ [ἕως Φαρμο]ῦθι ἀνὰ ξε ρϙε
[Παχὼν] ἕως Ἐπεὶφ ἀνὰ ν [ρ]ν
[Μεσορὴ . . . . .]τβ

Frag. (*b*).

Col. I.	Col. II.
γίνεται ζυτηρᾶς πγ Δτ	Συρων κω[μης
ὧν ἀναφοραὶ	Ωρος Σεμθε[ως
Χοιὰχ Ϸπε Τῦβι Ϸρλε	Νεχθοσιρις .[
Μεχειρ Ϸχξ– Φαμενὼθ Ϸχξ–	επιβαλλ[
Φαρμοῦθι Ϸχλβ– Παχὼν Ϸαη–	
Παῦνι Ϸαδ– Ἐπεὶφ Ϸαη–	Αυηρεως Νεβ[λας
Μεσορὴ Ϸαφξη Θωὺθ Αωοη	[. . .]ος Ωρου
Φαῶφι Ϸανδ Ἁθὺρ Ϸρλδ	
Νιτρικῶν	
Πτολεμαίδος τῆς Νέας Ϸβ[	

(*Traces of four more lines.*)

XXV.

CORN ACCOUNT.

7 × 14 cm.

This is the end of an account dealing with different kinds of corn. It contains the last two entries, giving the amount *απο του φορικου*, and that from Νέστου *ἐποίκιον*, followed by the totals, with an addition for *στεφανος*: unfortunately the purpose of the Crown is illegible. Amounts given in barley and olyra are reduced to their equivalents in wheat: barley at the rate of 5 to 3 ($772\frac{1}{2}$ art. = $463\frac{1}{2}$, and 720 art. = 432 of wheat), and olyra at the rate of 5 to 2 ($1513\frac{1}{1\frac{1}{2}}$ art. = $605\frac{1}{2}$ of wheat). Cf. XXIX, Introd.

[καὶ] ἀπὸ τοῦ φορικοῦ κριθ(ῶν) ρξβγ΄

[κα]ὶ ἐκ τοῦ Νέστου ἐπ(οικίου) ὁλυρ(ῶν) σν

[/] πυ(ρῶν) σπβ∠γ΄κ΄δ΄ κριθ(ῶν) φοβ∠ αἰ πυ(ρῶν) υξγ∠

[ὁ]λυρῶν Ἀφιγ∠γ΄ι΄β΄ αἰ πυ(ρῶν) χϵ∠ / πυ(ρῶν) Ἀτνα∠γ΄ι΄β΄

στε(φάνου) ειστο . ν πυρ(ῶν) σξ∠γ΄κ΄δ΄ κριθ(ῶν) ψκ∠κ΄δ΄

[αἰ πυ(ρῶν)] υλβ ὁλυρ(ῶν) φκδ΄ αἰ πυ(ρῶν) [ση

XXVI.

LAND REPORTS.

There are four fragments of this document, which do not fit together. They are written on both sides, but no complete lines are preserved. On the *recto* was an account of land and crops, the general formula of which can be easily constructed: a proper name, an area, the rate, the resulting number of artabae (evidently the rent), the nature of the crop, and the amount of seed. The rate at which the rent is calculated is $4\frac{1}{2}$ artabae an aroura, except in one case, where a lot of 44 arourae is divided into 34 at $4\frac{1}{2}$ and 10 at $3\frac{1}{2}$; the amount of seed is in nearly all cases one artaba for the aroura. The rent and seed are then added together. It appears that the owners, who were all Greeks, some at least of them 100-aroura, and some 80-aroura cleruchs, received a loan of seed, which was repaid with

the rent from the produce of the next harvest. The rent is always estimated in wheat; amounts in barley are reduced to their equivalent in wheat at the rate of 5 to 3, amounts in olyra at the rate of 5 to 2. A specimen entry would be:—ο Δεινα του Δεινος αρ(ουρων) λ ανα δ∠ (αρταβαι) ρλε, πυ(ρωι), σπ(ερμα) πυ(ρου) λ / ρξε A., son of B., 30 arourae at $4\frac{1}{2} = 135$ artabae, crop wheat, seed of wheat 30 artabae. Total, 165 artabae.

Sometimes the area is divided up according to the nature of the land or difference in the crops; for instance, the longest entry runs:—αρ(ουρων) ροβ ανα δ∠ (αρταβαι) ψοδ/ πυ(ρωι) ρμθ (αρταβαι) χο∠, [αβρο(χου) ιε,] (αρταβαι) ξζ∠, πεφαραγγωμενης η, (αρταβαι) λς, σπ(ερμα) πυ(ρου) ρμδ, [κριθης] κε αι πυ(ρου) ιε, ολ(υρων) ιβ∠ αι πυ(ρου) ε, / πυ(ρου) ρξδ; which means that the rent of 172 arou. at $4\frac{1}{2}$ art. is 774 art.: 149 arou. (rent $670\frac{1}{2}$ art.) were sown with wheat, 15 arou. (rent $67\frac{1}{2}$ art.) were not irrigated, 8 arou. (rent 36 art.) were gullied. The seed lent was 144 art. of wheat, 25 art. of barley = 15 of wheat, $12\frac{1}{2}$ art. of olyra = 5 of wheat. Total, 164 art. of wheat.

The word πεφαραγγωμενη does not, so far as I know, occur elsewhere; but the adjective φαραγγωδης is a common epithet of places broken up by chasms or gullies.

There is nothing else on the *recto* worth publishing, except perhaps a list of the names. Owing to the way in which the papyrus is torn down the middle of the columns, when the names are preserved most of the details are lost, and vice versa. The names completely preserved are:—Αλκετης Χαρικλεους, Νικανωρ Ασκληπιαδου, Πτολεμαιος Σωκρατου[ς, Θεοδωρος Δωσιθεου, Σιμων Σιμωνος, Αλεξανδρος Ωρμινα (?), Φιλωνιδης Αρεως, Ησιοδος Αλεξανδρου, Θεομνηστος Θεοδοτου, Ηρακλειδης Δωριωνος, Ηρακλειτος Φιλιππου, Λυσιμαχος Αβδαιου, Διοσκουριδης Σιμωνος, Ζωπυρος Φιλωνος, Απολλοδωρος Μελεαγρου.

The *verso* also dealt with cleruchic land; but the meaning is not clear. It refers to the 9th, 10th, and 11th years, probably of Philopator, and to payments in those years. The nature of the payment is nearly always omitted; but it is generally a multiple of ten. To this amount were added yearly one artaba for γραμματικον and five-sixths of an artaba for φυλακιτικον. In one instance the main payment is called αγο( ), probably αγο(ραστου). In another the abbreviation πρ( )—perhaps identical with πρα( ) of P. Tebt. 91 and 93—is used. This entry presents several peculiar features: πρ( ) appears before two numbers, but is cancelled before the first, and ἀγο is substituted for it; the numbers

are $3\frac{1}{2}\ \frac{1}{4}\ \frac{1}{8}\ \frac{1}{16}$, and $3\frac{1}{16}$ (that is, 7 in all), whereas in all the other entries the amount is a multiple of ten. The fraction, one-sixteenth of an artaba, is, I think, without parallel in Ptolemaic times, and on the *recto* of this papyrus even one-eighth is avoided, since $6\frac{1}{4}$ arourae at $4\frac{1}{2}$ is given as $28\frac{1}{16}$ artabae instead of $28\frac{1}{8}$; and the amount of the *φυλακιτικον* is different. The account was divided up into short sections, with tots at the end of each; but in most cases the headings are lost. Four of them are preserved, at least partially: (1) *των εν τωι κληρουχικωι*, which probably means those whose names appeared in a list (λογος) of cleruchs; (2) those whose holdings have been sown (with corn); (3) those whose holdings are sown with grass; (4) those whose names we do not find in the list of cleruchs. I print the two principal fragments.

(*a*).

]. μα( )

τῶ]ν ἐν τῶι κληρουχικῶι

] θL λ γρ. α φυ. ∠γ / λα∠γ

ὧν ο]ἱ κλ(ῆροι) ἐσπαρμένοι

]. . ιβ ιL [[πρ(αγο( ))]] γ∠δηις πρ( ) γις φυ. β γρ. .

]γ∠η φυ. ∠ / δη

]η∠διβ φυ. ας γρ. α / ιδ∠γιβ

ὧν οἱ] κλῆροι σπείρονται νομαῖς

]ιος ιαL ι γρ. α φυ. ∠γ / ια∠γ

[ιL ι γρ. α φυ. ∠γ / ι]α∠γ / κ γρ. β φυ. αβ / κγβ

]. . ιαL ι γρ. α φυ ∠γ / ια∠γ ιL ια∠γ

[/ κ γρ. β φυ.] αβ / κγβ

(*b*).

Νίκαιος Εὐαγρίου ιαL ι γρ. α φυ, ∠γ / ια∠γ ιL ι γρ. α [φυ. ∠γ

/ ια∠γ θL ια∠γ

/ ιαL κ γρ. β φυ. αβ / κγβ ιL ι γρ. α φυ. ∠γ/ια∠γ

θL κ γρ. β φυ. αβ / κγβ

/ αγο( ) ν γρ. ε φυ. δς / νθς

καὶ ὧν οὐχ εὑρίσκομεν ἐν τῶι κληρουχικῶι
Δωσίθεος ιL ια∠γ́ θL ια∠γ́ / κγβ́
Ἡρακλείδης ιL ια∠γ́
/ ιαL κ γρ. β φυ. αβ́ / κγβ́ θL ια∠γ́
/ λ γρ. γ φυ. β∠ / λϵ∠ 10

The totals in lines 3–5 may be summarized thus:—

	αγο.	γραμ.	φυ.	Tot.
11th year, . .	20	2	$1\frac{2}{3}$	$23\frac{2}{3}$
10th year, . .	10	1	$\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}$	$11\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{3}$
9th year, . .	20	2	$1\frac{2}{3}$	$23\frac{2}{3}$
Total, . .	50	5	$4\frac{1}{6}$	$59\frac{1}{6}$

1. The name of Nicaeus must have been preceded by that of another who paid in the 9th and 11th, but not in the 10th year; or by those of two persons, one of whom paid in the 9th, the other in the 11th only. Compare the next entry, where Dositheus paid in both the 9th and 10th, Heracleides in the 10th only.

10. ιαL seems to be a mistake for ιL.

XXVII.

ASSESSMENT OF PERSONS.

16 × 42 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

This papyrus contains the concluding columns of what must have been a long and elaborate document. It was an account arranged according to villages: the name of a village is given, then the total number of persons (σωματα), which is separated into the number of males and the number of females: the males are estimated at 4 obols, the females at $1\frac{1}{2}$ each. Two similar documents are known, one in PP. III. 93, the other in Lille pap. I. 10; but they are both incomplete and fragmentary, and the meaning was, and is, obscure. In the Lille papyrus the rate is different, 1 dr. for a male, and 3 obols for a female; but the Petrie papyrus is a very close

parallel: in it the rate is the same, and the only difference in arrangement is that the amounts of money are calculated separately for each village, and in each case there is a list of dates on which money was paid; the total amount paid is then subtracted from the amount due, leaving a remainder still unpaid. In one case (Col. vii. 6)—and probably there were more—a further deduction is made for 14 φυ(λακιται) at the same rate; which must mean that the φυλακιται were exempt. From the heading Περσεας δια Θεοδωρου (*ib.* 7) I deduce that Theodorus was the collector for the village of Persea, and responsible for the payment of the whole amount, as reduced by the proper proportion for the persons exempted.

Of the first three columns of the Petrie papyrus, only the upper part, containing about six lines, is preserved, and unfortunately the writing is almost completely washed out. The first column began with a heading, which might have removed all difficulties of interpretation; but, after carefully studying it again, I can only make out that it began with a date . . . . . ζ παρα . ν . . . . . ωνος; the next two lines are quite illegible; then follows:—

[. . . . .] του λογι[σ]τηριου επι . . . . .
[. . . . κα]ι τον βασιλικον γραμματεα
και τους κωμογραμματεις εις

Of the first four lines of the second col. only a few spots of ink remain here and there; the fifth records a remainder of 312 dr. 5 ob.; the sixth is εστιν φυ(λακιτων) και εφοδων των μετα του.

The third col. had entries headed Αρχελαιδος and Μητροδωρου εποικιου, but the details are illegible.

The present papyrus must have been divided into a series of districts, each containing several villages; at the end of the section dealing with each district was an estimate of the total number of persons in it, followed by a calculation of the corresponding money at the rate of 4 obols for a male and $1\frac{1}{2}$ for a female. The portion preserved gives the details for the last of these districts: it contained seven or more villages, but the names of only four of them are preserved. Of these, Ερμαφιλου κωμη, if the restoration is correct, is not known, nor is Ισιειον του Αιγιαλου; they must both have been, like all the other villages of this part of the document, in the Division of Themistes, so that this Isieion must be different from that of PP. III. 106, which was probably in Heracleides; it was evidently a small place on the shore of lake Moeris, like Philoteris and Dionysias, the

sites of which are known. Two of the entries are quite illegible, and there may have been one or more villages at the bottom of the preceding column. The details preserved may be tabulated thus :—

Village.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
( ), . .	145	79	66
Village of Hermaphilus, . .	230	120	110
Isieion Aigialou, . .	38	20	18
(Two illegible entries),			
Philoteris, . . .	719	370 + a	340 + b
Dionysias, . . .	712	371	341
	1844	960 + a	875 + b
(Missing numbers), . .	775	417 − a	367 − b
Total, . .	2916	1377	1242

1377 males at 4 obols = 918 dr.

1242 females at $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob. = 310 dr. 3 ob. Total, 1228 dr. 3 ob.

This is followed by a supplementary column giving *φυλακιτικον εργαστηριων* for eight villages, which are all in the Division of Themistes, and probably in the North-West part of that Division: the sites of the first four are known (see P. Tebt. II. App.).

On the *verso* is a table giving the totals for nine districts: in the first line is entered the number of males in each district, in the second the corresponding amount of money, in the third the number of females, in the fourth the amount of money for them: finally the numbers are added horizontally and vertically. The few lost numbers can be restored with certainty by calculation, because there is a double check upon them. There is one error in the table, in the sixth col., where 752 women are estimated at 188 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob.; but this superfluous $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob., although it appears in the total of the district, is not taken into account in the final addition of the last column. I have omitted it in the following table, but have marked the numbers which are wrong in the original with a star. In the Greek notation

horizontal addition is as easy as vertical, but for the convenience of modern calculation I have arranged the rows of the original as columns.

	Males.	Drach.	Females.	Drach.	Total of drachmae.
I.	789	526	793	198 $1\frac{1}{2}$	724 $1\frac{1}{2}$
II.	782	521 2	713	178 $1\frac{1}{2}$	699 $3\frac{1}{2}$
III.	1288	858 4	1183	295 $4\frac{1}{2}$	1154 $2\frac{1}{2}$
IV.	1514	1009 2	1644	411	1420 2
V.	926	617 2	840	210	827 2
VI.	917	611 2	752	*188	*799 2
VII.	628	418 4	573	143 $1\frac{1}{2}$	561 $5\frac{1}{2}$
VIII.	574	382 4	513	128 $1\frac{1}{2}$	510 $5\frac{1}{2}$
IX.	1377	918	1242	310 3	1228 3
	8795	5863 2	8253	2063 $1\frac{1}{2}$	7926 $3\frac{1}{2}$

The last district corresponds to the details preserved on the *recto*. There are two more small fragments, which both come from the bottom of earlier columns: one of them has a number 968, in one line, and in the next 11 dr. $1\frac{1}{2}$ ob., which would correspond to 45 women; the other has the words [Αρχ]ελαιδος σωματα οε ζαρ[σενικα.

Col. I.

[. . . . .] ρμε ζάρσενικα οθ
[θηλυκα] ξς
[Ε]ρ[μ]αφίλου κώμης σλ ζάρσενικὰ ρκ
θηλυκα ρι
Ισιείου τοῦ Αἰγιαλοῦ λη ζάρσενικὰ κ 5
θηλυκα ιη

(*Four illegible lines.*)

Col. II.

Φιλωτερ[ίδ]ος φιθ [/ἀρσενικὰ το
θηλυκὰ τμ[.
Διονυσιάδ[ος] ψιβ /ἀρσενικὰ τ[ο]α
θηλυκὰ τμα
/ τῶν τόπων σώματα ’Βχιθ/
ἀρσενικὰ ’Α[τ]οζ (ἀνὰ) ∫- ⊢ριη
θηλυκὰ ’Ασμβ (ἀνὰ) -c τι∫ | ⊢Ασκη∫

Col. III.

[φυλα]κιτικον εργαστηριων
Θεαδελφ[είας] ο
Εὐημερίας ξς
Διονυσιάδος λ[
Φιλωτερίδος μδ[
Κανώπου ι
Πολυδευκείας λη∫
Σεθρεμπαίτος [
Ἀρχελαιδος ·[
⊢ τς

Verso.

[ἀρ ψπθ ψπβ ’Ασπη] ’Αφιδ[ρ]κς ριζ χκη φοδ ’Ατοζ /’Ηφϙε
[⊢] φ[κς φ]κα= ωνη∫- ’Αθ= χιζ= χια= υιη∫- τπβ∫- ριη /⊢’Εωξγ=
θη ψϙγ ψιγ ’Αρπγ ’Αχμδ [ω]μ ψνβ φογ φιγ ’Ασμβ /’Ησνγ
⊢ ρϙη-c ροη-c σϙε∫-c υ[ια] σι ρπη-c ρμγ-c ρκη-c τι∫ /⊢’Βξγ-c
/ ψκδ-c χϙθ∫c ’Αρνδ=c ’Αυκ= ωκζ= ψϙθ∫c φξα∫=c φι∫=c ’Ασκη∫ /πα’Αρκ[ς∫c

XXVIII.

ACCOUNTS

12 × 15 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

There are two different accounts written on the *recto* of this papyrus, one along, the other across, the fibres. The former consists of a list of names, with days of the month, and the amounts paid on those days; but there is no indication of the nature or of the purpose of the payments. The names, so far as they are preserved, are:—[Δ]ιονυσιος, [Α]πολλωνιος, [.]ρηρις, [.]θοροπις, Τεωυς, Πετοσιρις, [.]εγροσις, [.]εεντελους, Πασις, Αμοννευς, Αρτεμιδωρος, Αρεως, Αριστοβ(ουλος), Χρυσιπ(πος), and Αμυντας. The writing is very small, square, and archaic; it should probably, and, if the date is correctly read in the second entry, must be ascribed to the reign of Philadelphus. The second entry is written across the fibres in a slightly larger but similar hand:—

(m 2) @50 Κανωπιάδος ἕως Παχὼ[ν ⸗

∟ κη (πυροῦ) Ἀυμγ∠ κρ(ιθῆς) ρο . [

καὶ προσεισελήλυθεν τοῦ Πα[ῦνι ⸗ ζ

$\bar{\varsigma}$ λβ $\overline{\iota\beta}$ πίβ́ $\overline{\kappa\epsilon}$ ξβ∠γίβ́ $\overline{\kappa\zeta}$ καγ́

| (πυροῦ) Σγγ́ | Ἀχμς∠γ́ ὑπὲρ ροζβ́ 5

1. The account for Κανωπιας, which was in the Division of Themistes, up to a certain day of Pachon. The beginning of the next line is very doubtful; but I cannot suggest anything else; either εως Παχων του κη∟ or ∟κη εως Παχων would have been more natural.

5. The additional payments, made on stated days of Payni, amounted to 203⅓ art. of wheat, and are added to the previous 4443½, making a total of 4646⅚. The meaning of υπερ is obscure; but it probably refers to the amount of barley in l. 2.

XXIX.

ACCOUNTS.

19 × 17 cm. 3rd cent. B.C.

This papyrus came from the same piece of cartonnage as XXVIII, and is written in a very similar, possibly the same, hand, so that it may be ascribed to the end of the reign of Philadelphus. It contains a series of accounts written in very narrow columns. Each column is headed by a proper name; underneath is a list of the names of months, accompanied by numbers of things denoted by $\mathring{\nu}$. These numbers are then added together and converted into barley at the rate of 2 art. for every 3; but in one case (col. v) the rate is specially stated, probably because it was exceptional, as 3 art. for every 4. This is followed by a series of payments in different months of amounts of wheat and barley, introduced by the word εχει. The horizontal fibres of the papyrus below these columns are torn away for a width of 4·5 cm., and lower down are *disiecta membra* of at least seven similar accounts, which were much shorter and arranged rather irregularly. They indicate, however, that after the list of payments there were further entries introduced by the words λοιπαι κρ(ιθης).

The interpretation of the document depends on the meaning of the abbreviation $\mathring{\nu}$, which might stand for any word beginning with νο or with ον. The facts that the corresponding numbers are always integers, and that the equivalent in barley is described in col. iii as a φυ(λακιτικον), suggest that the numbers refer to animals: compare P. Petrie III. cix b. 10 εννομιον πρ(οβατων) συν φυ(λακιτικωι) και αιγων ωσαυτως και υποδιφθερων πρ(οβατων) φυ(λακιτικον). Hence it is not unlikely that the abbreviation stands for ον(ων), and that the men were appointed to watch and protect herds of donkeys, and were paid at a fixed rate in barley proportional to the number of animals. It should be noticed that the payments are always very much in arrear, and are made sometimes in barley, sometimes in wheat at the rate of one art. of wheat for two of barley. This rate of conversion is not normal: the usual ratio of the value of wheat to that of barley was 5:3, to that of olyra 5:2, as in P. Hib. 85, 14 (261 B.C.), P. Petr. III. 80a, P. Tebt. 61b, 258; 246 and 261 (cf. p. 560); but I think there is a similar conversion in P. Soc. It. 388, 49. There the editors, who did not understand the formula of conversion, read ὀλυρῶν μ

αι κρ(ιθῶν) η αι $\overline{\pi}$ κ. If the rates had been normal, this would have been ὀλυρῶν μ αἱ κρ(ιθῶν) κsβ′ αἱ πυ(ρῶν) ις; but since these numbers are obviously impossible, and the number η must be wrong, we should, I think, read ὀλυρῶν μ αἱ κρ(ιθῶν) μ αἱ πυ(ρῶν) κ, that is, 40 art. of olyra = 40 art. of barley = 20 art. of wheat; this makes the value of olyra and barley equal, and half that of wheat. For a conversion of equality we may compare l. 41 of the same papyrus, χαλκοῦ ξ αἱ πυ(ρῶν) ξ, and l. 52, ⊢λγ∫ αἱ πυ(ρῶν) λγ∠.

Of the first col. a few of the numbers only are preserved, and the amount in barley, 123⅓ art., which would correspond to 185 donkeys. Of the sixth col. we have the name Ζηνων at the top, and the names of the months from Thoth to Tubi. The first line is a later addition written in the upper margin, and extending over columns ii–iv.

ν̊ ρκs | κρ(ιθῆs)πδ . κρ(ιθῆs) λθ∠γ′ πυ(ροῦ) κβδ̀ αἱ κρ(ιθῆs) μδ∠ | πδγ′

Col. II.

Ἀπολλώνιος χειρισ(τής)
Επειφ ν̊ μζ
Μεσορὴ κδ
Θωὺθ λε̣
Φαῶφι κ
Ἀθὺρ λε
Χοιὰχ ιδ
Τῦβι οὐθέν
/ ν̊ ροε̣ κρ(ιθῆs) ρις
ἔχει Μεσορὴ πυ(ροῦ) ε
Θωὺθ πυ(ροῦ) γ
. . . . . .

Col. III.

Βωs Θωὺθ ν̊ κδ
Φαῶφι ιβ
Ἀθὺρ β
Χοιὰχ η
Τῦβι ι[η]
/ ν̊ ξδ φυ(λακιτικὸν) κρ(ιθῆs) μ[ββ́]
ἔχει Θωὺθ [κρ(ιθῆs) α]
Φαῶφι κρ(ιθῆs) ζ πυ(ροῦ) α
Ἀθὺρ κρ(ιθῆs) η
Χοιὰχ κρ(ιθῆs) ια∠
/ κρ(ιθῆs) κζ∠ πυ(ροῦ) α αἱ κρ(ιθῆs) β
/ κρ(ιθῆs) [κθ∠]
. . . . . .

Col. IV.	Col. V.
Ὧρος καὶ Σισούχου	Πυθόδωρος
Θωὺθ ὸ̊ν κς	Θωὺθ ὸ̊ν μθ
Φαῶφι κα	Φαῶφι π
Ἀθὺρ ιβ	Ἀθὺρ οὐθέν
Χοιαχ κ	Χοιὰχ ρν
/ οθ κρ(ιθῆς) νββ́	Τῦβι οὐθέν
Θωὺθ πυ(ροῦ) γ	ρπς / ὸ̊ν σοθ ἀν(ὰ) ∠δ́ κρ(ιθῆς) σθδ́ /
Φαῶφι πυ(ροῦ) γ κρ(ιθῆς) η	ἔχει Θωὺθ κρ(ιθῆς) ε
Ἀθὺρ κρ(ιθῆς) γ	Φαῶφι κρ(ιθῆς) λβ
Χοιὰχ πυ(ροῦ) δ∠ κρ(ιθῆς) ις∠	Ἀθὺρ κρ(ιθῆς) λ
Τῦβι οὐθέν	Χοιὰχ κρ(ιθῆς) ξγ∠
/ κρ(ιθῆς κζ∠ πυροῦ) ι∠	/ κρ(ιθῆς) ρλ∠ πυ(ροῦ) β́ αἱ κρ(ιθῆς) αγ́
. . . , . . , . . .	. . . . .

25. The writer has corrected **Ωρος Σισουχου** into **Ωρος και Σισουχος**.

43. In the margin are three letters, probably **ρπς**. If so, this number represents the amount of barley calculated at the normal rate of 2 : 3, instead of 3 : 4. ($\frac{2}{3}$ of 279 = 186.)

48. The wheat in the total is not accounted for in the details.

INDICES.

I.

GEOGRAPHICAL.

Ἀθηναῖος. **2.** 38.
Αἰγύπτιος. **12.** 6.
Αἰνιάν. **7.** 3.
Ἀλαβαντίς. **24.** 1.
Ἀλεξάνδρου Νῆσος. **13.** 3; **17.** 5.
Ἀνδρομαχίς. **20.** 2.
Ἀνουβιάς. **18.** 18.
Ἀπολλωνιάς. **8.** 2, 6.
Ἀράβων Κώμη. **14.** 5.
Ἀρσινοίτης. **2.** 4, 7, 16, 32; **9.** 1.
Ἀρχελαΐς. **27.** 26.
Αὐῆρις Νέβλα. **24.** 34.
Ἀφροδίσιον. **22.** 22.
Ἀφροδίτης Πόλις. **23.** 23.

Βερενικίς. **13.** 22.
Βουκόλων Κώμη. **18.** 9, 15.

Διονυσιάς. **27.** 13, 21.

Ἐλευσίς. **23.** 26.
Ἑρμαῖον. **22.** 37.
Ερμαφίλου Κώμη. **27.** 3.
Εὐημερία. **27.** 20.

Ἡρακλείδου Ἐποίκιον. **23.** 7.
Ἡρακλείδου μερίς. **9.** 1.

Θεαδελφεία. **27.** 19.
Θεοξενίς. **18.** 11.
Θρᾷξ. **2.** 34.

Ἱερὰ Νῆσος, **23.** 37.
Ἰσιεῖον Αἰγιαλοῦ. **27.** 5.
Ἰουδαῖος. **2.** 12, 13; **8.** 10.

Κανωπιάς. **28.** 1.
Κάνωπος. **27.** 23.
Κερκεσῖρις. **8.** 14; **18.** 3, 7.
Κερκεσῆφις. **4.** 5.
Κερκεσοῦχα. **22.** 5.
Κροκοδίλων Πόλις. **2.** 4, 16; **10.** 7.
Λαγίδος Κώμη. **13.** 17.
Λητοῦς Πόλις. **14.** 4.
Λυσιμαχίς. **5.** 1, 5.

Μακεδών. **18.** 2.
Μέμφις. **23.** 33, 34.
Μιθραῖον. **22.** 10.
Μοῦχις. **23.** 13, 14.

Ναχβανεως. **22.** 6.
Νέβλα. **24.** 34.
Νέστου Ἐποίκιον. **25.** 2.
Νεφθιμιεῖον. **22.** 45.

Πανώ. **22.** 48.
Πέρσης. **2.** 34.
Πολυδευκία. **19.** 7; **27.** 24.
Πτολεμαΐς ἡ Νέα. **24.** 25.
Πύρρεια. **17.** 1.

Σαμάρεια. **4.** 6.
Σαχμιεῖον. **22.** 43.
Σεθρεμπαΐς. **27.** 25.
Σύρων Κώμη. **24.** 30.

Τεβτῦνις. **23.** 1, 4, 9.

Φιλωτερίς. **27.** 11, 22.

Ψεοννῶφρις. **24.** 9.

II.

PERSONAL NAMES.

Ἀβδαῖος. **26.** *Introd.*
Ἄβιστις. **22.** 14.
Ἄβρακος. **13.** 11.
Ἀγάθων. **15.** 1; **17.** 2.
Ἀγήνωρ. **13.** 9.
Αἴγυπτος. **13.** 12.
Αἴλουρος. **3.** 9.
Ἀλέξανδρος. **13.** 4; **15.** 1; **26.** *Introd. bis.*
Ἀλκέτης. **26.** *Introd.*
Ἀμοννεύς. **26.** *Introd.*
Ἀμύντας. **28.** *Introd.*
Ἄμωσις. **8.** 2, 6.
Ἀνδρόνικος. **3.** 15; **22.** 1.
Ἄνδρων. **2.** 5.
Ἀνίκητος. **13.** 20.
Ἀντίμαχος. **13.** 24.
Ἀντιφάνης. **17.** 3.
Ἀπίων. **2.** 15.
Ἀπολλόδωρος. **9.** 10; **23.** 2; **26.** *Introd.*
Ἀπόλλων. **15.** 2.
Ἀπολλώνιος. **16.** 9; **28.** *Introd.*; **29.** 2.
Ἀρβῆχις. **24.** 21.
Ἀρέμβασις. **22.** 39.
Ἄρεως. **28.** *Introd.*

Ἄρης. **26.** *Introd.*
Ἄρθνις. **22.** 7.
Ἀριδαῖος. **22.** 33.
Ἀρίσταρχος. **22.** 47.
Ἀριστίδης. **2.** 37.
Ἀριστόβουλος. **28.** *Introd.*
Ἀριστόκριτος. **13.** 1.
Ἀριστόμαχος. **2.** 7.
Ἄρίων. **13.** 23.
Ἀρσινόη. **3.** 7, 22.
Ἀρτεμίδωρος. **28.** *Introd.*
Ἀρυώτης. **3.** 3.
Ἀσιόγονος. **18.** 14.
Ἀσκληπιάδης. **18.** 13; **26.** *Introd.*
Αὔγχις. **22.** 44.
Ἀφῦγχις. **13.** 16.

Βερενίκη. **2.** 30.
Βριμώ. **1.** 5.
Βως. **29.** 13.

Γαλέστης. **2.** 29.
Γῶβις. **22.** 18.

Δημήτηρ. **1.** 6, 21.
Δημήτριος. **3.** 19; **18.** 4; **22.** 23.
Διόδωρος. **13.** 1.
Διομήδης. **2.** 5.
Διονύσιος. **11.** 1; **20.** 2, 4; **28.** *Introd.*
Διόνυσος. **1.** 23.
Διόσδοτος. **2.** 13; **15.** 1.
Διοσκουρίδης. **26.** *Introd.*
Διοτρέφης. **2.** 6.
Δωρίων. **26.** *Introd.*
Δωρόθεος. **22.** 28.
Δωσίθεος. **2.** 12, 35; **8.** 9; **26.** *Introd.*; **b.** 7.

Εἰρήνη. **13.** 11; **22.** 34.
Ἐπιγένης. **13.** 6.
Ἑστιαῖος. **22.** 33.
Εὐάγριος. **26 b.** 1.
Εὐβουλεύς. **1.** 18.
Εὐίης. **1.** 19.

Ζαι.συς (?). **13.** 10.
Ζηνόθεμις. **2.** 5.
Ζήνων. **18.** 6.
Ζώπυρος. **2.** 34; **26.** *Introd.*

Ἡδύλος. **22.** 20.
Ἡράκλεια. **2.** 9, 12, 13, 37, 41.
Ἡρακλείδης. **26.** *Introd.*; **b.** 8.
Ἡράκλειτος. **26.** *Introd.*
Ἡράκων. **8.** 3, 7.
Ἡσίοδος. **26.** *Introd.*
Ἡφαιστίων. **18.** 10.

Θεόγενος. **13.** 13.
Θεόδοτος. **3.** 4, 6; **18.** 8; **26.** *Introd.*
Θεόδωρος. **26.** *Introd.*
Θεόμνηστος. **26.** *Introd.*
...θεσενουφις. **3.** 11.
Θεοφάνης. **2.** 5.
Θεόφιλος. **8.** 9.
Θέων. **18.** 10.
Θυῆρις. **22.** 11.

Ἰάσων. **13.** 12.
Ἰδέλλας. **22.** 49.
Ἰμούθης. **21.** 1.
Ἰναρωῦς. **22.** 41.

Κάγις. **13.** 26.
Καλλικράτης. **16.** 11.
Κάλλιππος. **2.** 18, 23, 24.
Κόνων. **3.** 7.
Κουρῆτες. **1.** 7.
Κώιλις. **13.** 17.

Λεωνίδης. **18.** 6.
Λυσίμαχος. **26.** *Introd.*

Μαιάνδριος. **2.** 5.
Μέρων. **22.** 20.
Μελέαγρος. **26.** *Introd.*
Μηνόδωρος, **3.** 13.
Μιθροδάτης. **22.** 2.
Μιράσιστις. **22.** 13.
Μύρτιον. **22.** 27.

Νεχθόσιρις. **24.** 32.
Νίκαιος. **26. b.** 1.
Νικάνωρ. **26.** *Introd.*
Νικίας. **2.** 34.

Ὀβεστερτᾶις. **22.** 39.
Ὄμεννις. **22.** 7.
Ὀννῶφρις. **22.** 9.
Ὀπᾶις. **22.** 18.
Ὄρεννις. **22.** 39.

Παγώνβιος. **14.** 7.
Πᾶις. **3.** 2.
Πάλλας. **1.** 21.
Πᾶσις. **22.** 9; **24.** 10; **28.** *Introd.*
Παστέρναχθις. **24.** 10.
Ἴασῦτις. **2.** 16, 17.
Παῶπις. **23.** 3.
Παῶς. **9.** 2, 7.
Πειθόλαος. **8.** 4, 7, 8, *v.*
Πετεσοῦχος. **3.** 3; **5.** 4; **15.** 2; **16.** 1.
Πετῆσις. **5.** 1.
Πετοσῖρις. **22.** 31; **28.** *Introd.*
Πικεπαῖγος. **1.** 22.
Πολυδεύκης. **2.** 6, 8, 32.
Πολυκλῆς. **2.** 5.
Ποσειδώνιος. **22.** 46.
Πρόξενος. **18.** 12.
Πρώταρχος. **21.** 2.
Πρωτέας. **2.** 38.
Πτολεμαῖος. **2.** 42; **15.** 1; **22.** 30; **26.** *Introd.*
Πυρρίας. **18.** 4.
Πυθόδωρος. **29.** 37.

Ρέα. **1.** 6.

Σαβαθῶις. **22.** 49.
Σαραπίων. **13.** 13.
Σειληνός. **22.** 46.
Σεμθεύς. **24.** 31.
Σήραμβος. **9.** 3, 6.
Σίμων. **26.** *Introd.*
Σισίνης. **22.** 32.
Σισοῦχος. **29.** 25.
Σοκθῶπος. **5.** 3.
Σοκομῆνις. **5.** 2.
Σοκῶυς. **3.** 10.
Σόλων. **4.** 1.
Σύμμαχος. **2.** 34; **22.** 23.
Σωκράτης. **18.** 12; **26.** *Introd.*
Σώνικος. **2.** 6.
Σωσίβιος. **7.** 2 *bis.*
Σωσίπολις. **2.** 30.

Τελοῦφις. **8.** 10.
Τετοσῖρις. **22.** 25.
Τεῶς. **3.** 10; **8.** 1, 2, *v*; **20.** 1 *bis.*
Τεῶυς. **27.** *Introd.*
Τήρης. **19.** 4.
Τίμαιος. **8.** 10.
Τοθοῆς. **16.** 1.
Τυδεύς. **22.** 29.

Φαιῆς. **22.** 2; **24.** 2.
Φανῆσις. **3.** 12; **13.** 14.
Φιλάδελφος. **7.** 7.
Φίλιππος. **3.** 6; **26.** *Introd.*
Φιλιστίων. **2.** 29; **8.** 9.
Φίλιστος. **18.** 16.
Φίλων. **29.** *Introd.*
Φιλωνίδης. **26.** *Introd.*

Χαιᾶπις. **22.** 11.
Χαρικλῆς. **26.** *Introd.*
Χρύσιππος. **28.** *Introd.*

Ψενεῖσις. **22.** 25.

Ὠρμινας (?). **26.** *Introd.*
Ὧρος. **5.** 4; **8.** 9, 11; **14.** 6; **15.** 2; **22.** 38; **24.** 31, 35; **29.** 25.

III.

GENERAL INDEX OF GREEK WORDS.

ἄβροχος. **15**. 18; **26**. *Introd.*
ἀγκάλη. **5**. 8.
αγο( ). **26**. 5.
ἀδικεῖν. **2**. 49.
Ἀθύρ. **24**. 8, 23; **29**. 7, 15, 21, 27, 33, 40, 46.
αἴξ. **22**. 5, 24, 36, 50.
ἀλλά. **2**. 44.
ἄλλος. **2**. 15, 45; **9**. 6.
ἄλυσις. **10**. 3.
ἅμα. **2**. 38.
ἄμπελος. **8**. 12.
ἀμπελουργικός. **8**. 13.
ἀμπελών. **8**. *v*; **16**. 4.
ἀμφότερος. **2**. 46.
ἀνά. **19**. 1; **24**. 5, 6, 12, 13, 14; **26**. *saepe*; **27**. 16, 17.
ἀναβολή. **2**. 21.
ἀνάγειν. **4**. 2; **10**. 7.
ἀναγιγνώσκειν. **6**. 4; **20**. 1.
ἀναγκάζειν. **5**. 18.
ἀναγράφειν. **21**. 6.
ἀναλίσκειν. **1**. 27.
ἀνατιθέναι. **1**. 16.
ἀνοιγνύναι. **10**. 2.
ἄνω. **1**. 26.
ἀντιγραφεύς. **11**. 2.
ἀντίγραφον. **2**. 8; **8**. 4; **21**. 3.
ἀντίδικος. **2**. 46.
ἀντιλοιδορεῖν. **2**. 21.
ἀναφορά. **3**. 16; **13**. 7, 23; **24**. 3, 11, 17.
ἀξιοῦν. **2**. 9; **10**. 10.
ἅπας. **10**. 13.
ἀπαιτεῖν. **13**. 23.
ἀπαναίνειν. **1**. 20.
ἀπέναντι. **2**. 17.
ἀπερείσιος. **1**. 11.
ἀπέχειν. **15**. 3.
ἀποδέχεσθαι. **2**. 48.
ἀποδικάζειν. **2**. 49.
ἀποκαθιστάναι. **10**. 14.
ἀπολογεῖσθαι. **2**. 39.
ἀπομετρεῖν. **5**. 13.
ἀποστέλλειν. **21**. 3.
ἀποστολή. **13**. 28.
ἀποτείνειν. **7**. 11.
ἀποτιθέναι. **7**. 11
ἀποφέρειν. **10**. 2.
ἀποχή **7**. 4.
ἀργύριον. **7**. 6.
ἀργυροῦς. **10**. 3.
ἄρης. **22**. 40, 42.
ἄρνες. **22**. *saepe*.
ἄρνον. **22**. 3, 15, 34.
ἄρουρα. **5**. 12; **26**. *saepe*.
ἀρσενικός. **27**. *saepe*.
ἀρτάβη. **5**. 11; **11**. 3; **19**. 6; **26**. *saepe*.
ἄσπορος. **18**. 5.
ἀστράγαλος. **1**. 29.
αὐτός. **2**. 8, 47; **5**. 17, 18; **6**. 2; **7**, 10; **8**. 11, 12; **10**. 11; **11**. 6; **13**. 24; **19**, 3, 5; **20**. 3; **23**. *saepe*.
αὐτοῦ. **16**. 3.
ἀφαιρεῖν. **8**. 12.
ἄφεσις. **9**. 5, 8.
ἀφιέναι. **10**. 9.

βαλανεῖον. **13**. 8, 21.
βαλανεύς. **13**. 22.
βαρύτερον. **5**. 16.
βασιλεύς. **2**. **9**, 42; **10**. 5.
βασιλικός. **5**. 3, 9, 14; **8**. 1, *v*.; **20**. 5; **23**. 3.
βασίλισσα. **10**. 6,
βουκόλος. **1**. 25.
βούλεσθαι. **2**. 39, 47; **6**. 3.
βρέχειν. **18**. 6.

γένημα. **5**. 10.
γεωργεῖν. **5**. 9; **16**. 5; **21**. 4.
γεωργός. **5**. 3; **20**. 2.
γῆ. **5**. 9.
γιγνώσκειν. **2**. 11.
γίνεσθαι. **10**, 5; **22**. 4, 35; **24**. 16.
γνώμη. **2**. 45.
γραμματεύς **8**. 1, *v*.; **23**. 3.
γραμματικόν. **26**. *saepe*.
γραπτός. **2**. 36, 39, 47.
γράφειν. **2**. 8, 11, 31, 43; **7**. 3, 10; **19**. 7; **20**. 4.
γυνή. **2**. 20.

δεῖν. **6**. 2
δεχημέρα. **6**. 4
διάγραμμα. **2**. 10, 40, 42, 43, 44; **7**. 14.
διαγράφειν. **20**. 4.
διακεῖσθαι. **5**. 16.
διασαφεῖν. **20**. 2, 6.
διατελεῖν. **2**. 25.
διδόναι. **1**. 27; **8**, 3; **21**. 8
διέρχεσθαι. **13**. 2.
δικάζειν. **2**. 26, 41.
δίκαιος. **2**. 45.
δικαίωμα. **2**. 39, 41.
δικαστήριον. **2**. 31, 47.
δικαστής. **2**. 5, 10.
δίκη. **2**. 11, 27, 31, 40, 49; **10**. 12.
διό. **1**. 27; **2** 26.
Δῖος. **12** 6.
διότι. **2**. 19.
διοτοκεῖν. **1**. 3.
δραχμή, ⊢. **7**. 5, 13; **13**. 6; **20**. 3.
δρέπανον. **8**. 13.
δύνασθαι. **5**. 16.
Δύστρος. **2**. 4, 11.
δῶρον. **1**. 11.

ἐγγυᾶν. **7**. 6.
ἔγκλημα. **2**. 12, 28, 33, 35.
εἰδέναι. **2**. 42; **8**. 4.
εἰκάζειν. **8**. 14.
εἰκοσιάρουρος, κ𐆖. **18**. 5, 8.
εἰρηκέναι. **2**. 19; **13**. 23.
εἷς. **1**. 23.
εἰσαγωγεύς. **2**. 6, 32.
εἰσδοχή. **6**. 1.
ἕκαστος. **5**. 12.
ἑκάτερος. **2**. 10, 47.
ἑκατοντάρουρος, ρ𐆖. **3**. 19; **17**. 2.
ἐκπέμπειν. **6**. 6.
ἕκτη. **7**. 6.
ἐκτιθέναι. **19**. 3.
ἐκτρέχειν. **8**. 11.
ἐκτρυγᾶν. **8**. 10.
ἐκφόριον. **5**. 15.
ἐμβάλλειν. **1**, 28.
ἐμφανίζειν. **2**. 43.
ἐνεπισκήπτεσθαι. **2**. 28.
ἐννόμιον. **13**. 9, 19.
ἔνοπλος. **1**. 7.
ἔντευξις. **2**. 9.
ἐνώπια. **2**. 33.
ἐξανιστάναι. **2**. 10.
ἐπαναγκάζειν. **10**. 13.
ἐπεί. **5**. 15.

ἐπειδή. **2.** 40; **10.** 10.
Ἐπείφ. **8.** 1, 5, 8, *v.*; **11.** 7; **24.** 6, 14, 21; **29.** 3.
ἐπέργων, τῶν. **2.** 34.
ἐπέρχεσθαι. **8.** 7.
ἐπιγονή. **2.** 13, 35, 38; **7.** 3; **8.** 10.
ἐπιδέχεσθαι. **7.** 1.
ἐπικωλύειν. **11.** 5.
ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι. **2.** 26.
ἐπισκοπεῖν. **10.** 12.
ἐπιστολή. **20.** 1; **21.** 2.
ἐπιτάσσειν. **10.** 4
ἐπιτιμᾶν. **2.** 24.
ἐποίκιον. **23.** 7; **25.** 2.
ἑπτά. **5.** 12.
ἐργαστήριον. **23.** 11, 29; **27.** 18.
ἔριφος. **22.** 5, 24, 36, 50.
ἔρρωσο. **6.** 7; **8.** 5; **11.** 7; **13.** 28.
ἐσθίειν. **1.** 11.
ἐσιέναι. **2.** 14.
ἔσοπτρος. **1,** 30.
ἔτος, L. **2.** 2, 11, 14, 28, 32; **3.** 5, 8, 22; **4.** 1; **5.** 11; **6.** 7; **7.** 8, 9; **8.** 1, *v.*; **11.** 3, 7; **14.** 1; **26.** 3; **28.** 2.
εὑρίσκειν. **1.** 1; **26.** b. 6.
εὐχή. **1,** 17.
ἐφέλκειν. **13.** 25.
ἐφορᾶν. **1.** 15.
ἔχειν. **2.** 33; **7.** 12; **13.** 27; **14.** 9; **29.** 11, 19, 44.
ἕως. **2.** 22; **10.** 9.

ζυτηρά. **3.** 13; **24.** 16.
ζυτικόν. **4.** 6.

ἡμέρα. **10.** 16.

θεός, **1.** 24: **3.** 11.
θηλυκός. **27.** *saepe.*
θησαυρός. **14.** 5.
θυσία. **10.** 5.
Θῶυθ. **24.** 7, 22; **29.** 5, 12, 13, 26, 31, 38, 44.

ἱερά. **1,** 9.
ἱερεύς. **2.** 2, 29.
ἱερόν. **10.** 14, 16.
ἱερός. **10.** 6.
ἱμάτιον. **2.** 21.
ἵνα. **10.** 12; **20.** 4.

καθά. **2.** 13.
καθίζειν. **2.** 6, 9.
καθότι. **7.** 11.
κακοποιεῖν. **8.** 11.
κάλαθος. **1.** 28.
καλεῖν. **1.** 18: **2.** 33, 46.
καλός. **1.** 9.
καλῶς. **5.** 17.
καταλαμβάνειν. **9.** 6.
κατηγορεῖν. **2.** 14.
κατοικεῖν. **8.** 14.
κάτω. **1,** 26.
κικλήσκειν. **1.** 19.
κλῆρος. **9.** 3; **26.** 8.
κληρουχικός. **26.** 2; b. 6.
κλήτωρ. **2.** 33.
κλοιός. **10.** 3.
κόλπος. **1.** 24.
κόπτειν. **5.** 8.
κρέας. **1.** 14.
κριθή. **4.** 8; **23.** *saepe*; **25.** 1, 3, 5; **26.** *Introd.*; **28.** 2; **29.** *saepe.*
κρίνειν. **2.** 49.
κριός. **1.** 10.
κύριος. **2,** 37.
κωμαρχεῖν. **5.** 5.
κωμάρχης. **5.** 1.
κώμη. **5.** 1; **8.** 6, 9; **9.** 3; **18.** 13; **20.** 2.
κωμογραμματεύς. **8.** 2, 6.
κῶνος. **1.** 29.

λαμβάνειν. **2.** 21; **5.** 7.
λέγειν. **2.** 15, 17: **6.** 2
λιστής. **8.** 13.
λίψ. **9.** 4.
λογευτής. **11.** 26.
λόγος. **2.** 36, 39, 48.
λοιδορεῖν. **2.** 18.
λοιπός, ⏜. **1.** 14; **13.** 5; **23.** *saepe.*

μέρος. **8.** 12; **9.** 4.
Μεσορή. **24.** 7, 15, 22; **29.** 4, 11.
μετανοεῖν. **6.** 3.
μεταπέμπειν. **10.** 11.
μετέχειν. **16.** 4.
μετρεῖν. **11.** 4; **14.** 2.
μετρητής. **8.** 14.
Μεχείρ. **24.** 4, 13, 19.
μηδείς. **6.** 5; **9.** 11; **11.** 4.
μήν. **2.** 4, 14, 31, 32; **7.** 12.
μίσθωσις. **23.** *saepe.*
μοσχοτρόφος. **22.** 44.

νιτρικά. **24.** 24.
νομή. **26.** 8.
νόμος. **1.** 12; **2.** 44, 45; **7.** 15.
νομός. **2.** 4, 7, 16, 32; **9.** 1.
νότος. **9.** 3.

ὅδε. **2.** 8, 11, 12, 28.
οἰκία. **2.** 16, 17.
οἰκονόμος. **20.** 4.
οἶμαι. **6.** 2.
οἰνικός. **15.** 5.
οἶνος. **8.** 14.
ὄλυρα. **25.** 2, 4, 6; **26.** *Introd.*
ὄνος. **1.** 25.
ὅπως. **8.** 4.
ὀρφανός. **17.** 3.
ὅσος. **2.** 42, 43.
ὅτι. **2.** 14.
οὐθείς. **6.** 2; **29.** 9, 35, 40, 42.
οὖν. **5.** 15; **10.** 10.
οὗτος. **2** 18, 35; **10.** 12; **20.** 3; **21** 10.
οὕτως. **2.** 20.
ὀφείλημα. **20.** 3.

παραγίνεσθαι. **2.** 17; **5.** 6.
παράδεισος. **8.** 8.
παραδιδόναι. **2.** 40.
παρεῖναι. **2.** 23, 36, 37.
παρέχειν. **6.** 3; **7.** 2, 9.
πᾶς. **2.** 10; **13.** 25.
Παῦνι. **24.** 21; **28.** 3.
Παχών. **2.** 11; **6.** 7; **7.** 8; **24.** 6, 14, 20; **28.** 1.
πέμπειν. **21.** 9.
πεντακόσιοι. **7.** 5.
περιστερών. **13.** 5.
Περίτιος. **2.** 14, 32.
πίνειν. **1.** 25.
πλήν. **2.** 10.
ποιεῖν. **1.** 9; **5.** 18; **11.** 6.
ποινή. **1.** 4.
πόλις. **19.** 4.
πολιτικός. **2.** 44.
πολλάκις. **2.** 22.
ποταμός. **1.** 12.
πρ( ). **26.** 5.
πρᾶξις. **7.** 13.
πράσσειν. **5.** 17; **10.** 9; **13.** 4, 24; **20.** 3; **21.** 5.
προαιρεῖν. **10.** 2.
πρόβατον. **22.** *saepe.*
προγράφειν. **2.** 23; **7.** 11; **8.** 8, 9, 13; **9.** 2.
πρόεδρος. **2.** 4.
προιστάναι. **8.** 3, 7.
προσάγγελμα. **8.** 3, 6.
προσεισέρχεσθαι. **28.** 3.
πρόσταγμα. **2.** 8.
πρότερον. **10.** 8.
πρὸ τοῦ. **5.** 4.
πρῶτος. **9.** 4.
πτύειν. **2.** 20.
πυρετεῖν. **5.** 6.
πυρός. **5.** 11, 13; **11.** 2; **16.** 7; **19.** 6, 7; **23.** *saepe*; **25.** *saepe*; **26.** *saepe*; **28.** 2, 5; **29.** *saepe.*
πυρσουρός. **22.** 1.

ῥόμβος. **1.** 29.

σαυτοῦ. **2,** 14; **13.** 27.
σιτάριον. **4.** 6.

σιτολόγος. **14.** 8; **16.** 12; **22.** 1.
σῖτος. **4.** 2.
σπείρειν. **26.** 4, 8.
σπέρμα. **23.** *saepe*; **26.** *saepe*.
σπονδή. **10.** 5.
στέφανος. **25.** 5.
στρατηγία. **2.** 7.
στρατιώτης. **19.** 5.
συγγραφή. **7.** 4.
συθασθαι (?). **2.** 48.
σύμβολον. **1.** 23; **11.** 5.
συνακολουθεῖν. **19.** 5.
συνεπακολουθεῖν. **15.** 4.
συνέχειν. **20.** 2.
σύνθεμα. **1.** 26.
συνιστάναι. **2.** 41.
συντάσσειν. **2.** 46; **9.** 7; **10.** 11; **21.** 4.
συντελεῖν. **10.** 13.
σώζειν. **1.** 5, 22.
σῶμα. **8.** 12; **27.** 15.

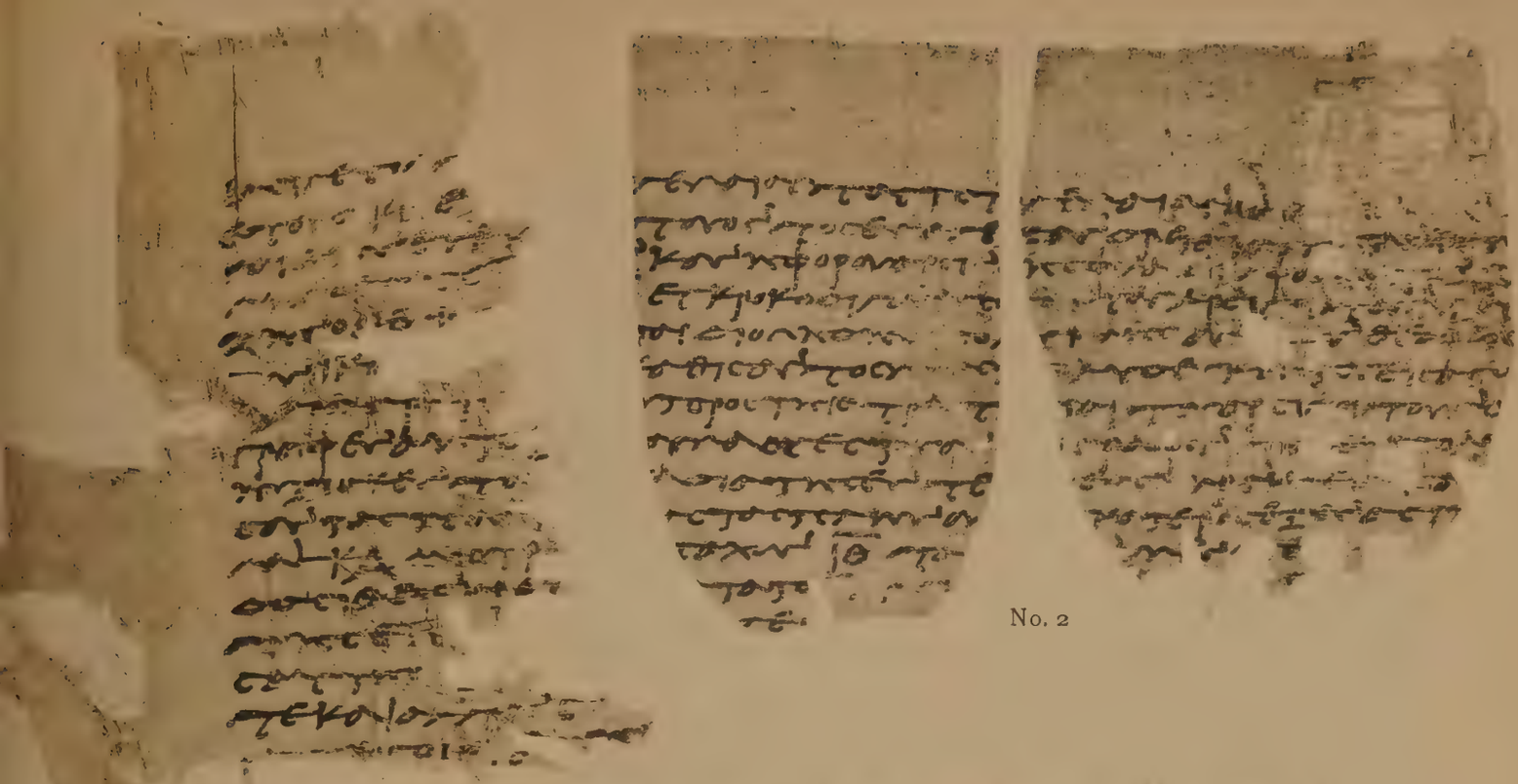
τάσσειν. **2.** 7.
τάχος. **21.** 10.
τελετή. **1.** 3.
τέμνειν. **1.** 4.
τετάρτη. **10.** 4.
τιθέναι. **2.** 36, 39, 48.
τίμημα. **2.** 27.
τοπάρχης. **28.** 2; **21.** 1.
τόπος. **2.** 18; **7.** 7; **27.** 15.
τράγος. **I.** 10, 13.
τράπεζα. **20.** 5.
τρεῖς. **8.** 10.
τριακοντάρουρος, λΧ, **18.** 2, 13.
τρυγᾶν. **8.** 14, *v.*
Τῦβι. **24.** 4, 12, 18; **29.** 9, 7, 35, 42.
τυγχάνειν. **8.** 12, 13.
τύπτειν. **8.** 12.

ὑβρίζειν. **2.** 25, 27.
ὕβρις. **2.** 27.
ὑπάρχειν. **21.** 7.
ὑπερβολή. **6.** 5.
ὑπηρέτης. **19.** 4.
ὑπόμνημα. **8.** 1.
ὑποτιθέναι. **8.** 4.

φαίνεσθαι. **10.** 12.
Φαμενώθ. **4.** 4, 7; **24.** 19.
φάναι. **2.** 19.
φαραγγοῦσθαι. **26.** *Introd.*
Φαρμοῦθι. **4** 9; **12.** 7; **18.** 1; **24.** 5, 13, 20.
Φαῶφι. **14.** 2; **24.** 8, 13; **29.** 6, 14, 20, 26, 32, 39, 45.
φίλος. **1.** 20.
φορικόν. **25.** 1.
φόρος. **13.** 20; **16.** 3.
φροντίζειν. **20.** 4.
φυλακή. **10.** 8.
φυλακιτικόν. **26.** *saepe*; **27.** 18; **29.** 18.
φύλαξ. **8.** 11.

χαίρειν. **2.** 8; **6.** 1; **7.** 1; **8.** 2; **13.** 2; **15.** 3; **20.** 1; **21.** 1.
χαλκός. **7.** 5; **20.** 3, 4.
χειριστής. **29.** 2.
χίλιοι. **7.** 13.
Χοίαχ. **24.** 4, 12, 18; **29.** 8, 16, 19, 21, 28, 34, 41, 47.
χόρτος. **5.** 8.
χρυσίον. **10.** 4.
χωματικόν. **3.** 4, 9, 21.
χωννύναι. **9.** 5.

ὥστε. **2.** 20; **19.** 4.



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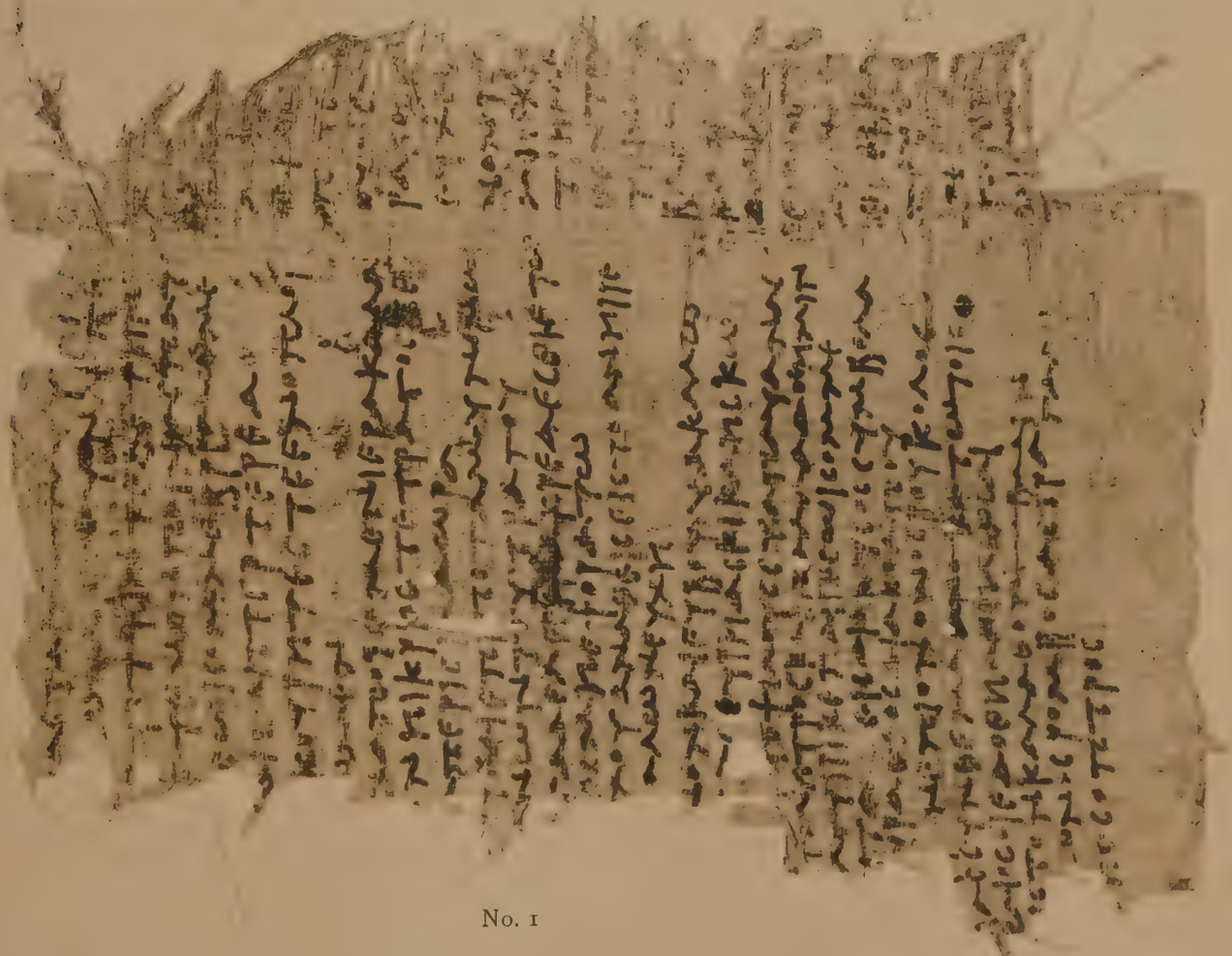

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